4c Misc

[illegible]

101
102
103
131
133
361
797

p. 447	p. 448	p. 449
p. 450	p. 451	p. 452

Chart of Positions of End Map. (pp. 447-452).
/facing End Map/

113, 102

Chane SF8
Choroti SK7
Mataco SI7
Chaco Indians SK4
Toba SI12
Tapiete SK13
Siriono SF21

/For the map showing the location and distribution of these tribal groupings, see 4: Nino, SF10 Chiriguano, category 116, pp. 447-452./

136
825

/For a listing of the various types of native fauna in the Chiriguano area and their cultural recognition and use by the people, see category 116, pp. 50-93./

000

Chiriguano Ethnography
[Etnografía Chiriguana]

Bernardino de Nino

La Paz: 1912
Tipografía Comercial de Ismael Argote

Translated from the Spanish by Sydney Muirden

Human Relations Area Files
1967

[Title page]

/i/

000 Homage that the author presents to the XIX International Congress of Americanists, which is to meet in this city of La Paz in the year 1914. /Page ii is blank. Page iii is omitted in the translation./

/iv/ Author's Acknowledgement to the Supreme Government of Bolivia

Gratitude is a virtue by means of which the blessings received on this earth are acknowledged; it is natural and supernatural; the former is based in nature and the latter in a divine principle through which a grateful person becomes worthy of even eternal blessings.

The ingrate becomes an abomination before humanity and before God; thus does he show us the bitterness that Jesus, the man-God, felt when He received the affront of Judas, who had received so many blessings from his Divine Master.

Does the world ever lack persons who in times of tribulation, troubles, and unhappiness will come to others for consolation, declaring themselves to be friends and later, their ends gained, will turn against same, gossiping about their benefactors and accusing them of what is not so, because their perverse eye makes them see white black and black white? There is no lack of these, and the history of the Nations provides us with innumerable examples of this.

Religion cannot do anything but reprove ingratitude and approve the opposite virtue, from which it is necessary to deduce that the Christian, who professes the true one, ought to show his gratitude to those who do him a favor.

122 I began this work, which will soon be printed, with the expectation of being assisted in its publication by the present Mandatary Most Excellent President of Bolivia, the Eminent Doctor don Eliodoro Villazón, who encouraged me to do it by letter in 1909. And my expectations have been fulfilled.

/iv cont./

122 In fact, at the beginning of this year 1912 I had occasion to address myself to the Most Excellent President, to the Ministers of Instruction, Finance, and Colonization, Messrs. M. B. Mariaca /v/, Carlos Torrico, and Julio La-Faye, with the assistance of the Chancellor of the University of Potosí, Dr. don Nestor D. Morales; and the Supreme Government, which so highly esteems scientific works, has decided to have my work printed at its expense in the print shops of La Paz.

This eminently patriotic and national act greatly honors the Most Excellent President and his illustrious Cabinet, and places a great debt of gratitude on the author of Etnografá Chiriguana, which was completed in the same region that it describes.

By means of these few lines, then, the undersigned shows his deep gratitude to the Supreme Government of Bolivia for the consideration with which he has been honored, the publication of his work having been accepted in the manner set forth in the communication which I reproduce literally, as follows: "Ministry of War and Colonization -- Bolivia -- Department of Colonization -- Nov. 410 -- La Paz, February 23, 1912. -- To Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino. -- Potosí. Sir: In reply to your kind letter of January 11, together with which you have been so kind as to send me a copy of the proposal brought before the Supreme Government, for the publication of a work prepared by you on the eastern region of the Republic and the ethnography of the races who people it, I am obliged to inform you that the lack of funds available in the National Budget for such purposes prevents us from accepting the first part of the proposal you suggest, the second being more feasible, in accordance with which the Government can recommend the publication of your work in the War Administration of this city, which has the necessary means; in which case you will have the right to the 500 copies which you request, with the intellectual rights to the work being reserved.

/v cont./

122 "Your proposal thus having been accepted in one of the proposed forms, I trust that you will be so kind as to send /vi/ the respective original copies to this Ministry with such instructions and documentation as may be necessary for the purpose already indicated.

"With this in mind I greet you and repeat that I am your obedient and humble servant. —For the Minister, José Lavadenz, Deputy Secretary of Colonization."

Although in the preceding original letter only the Minister of War is represented, other official communications which I have in hand show that the Most Excellent President and his Cabinet took an active interest in the publication of my work, for which reason my gratitude for this extraordinary favor is addressed especially to the Most Excellent Señor Villazón first of all and then to the Honorable Ministers.

Potosí, March 15, 1912.

Father Barnardino de Nino.

Note. -- For justifiable reasons, instead of having the publication of the present work done in the War Administration, it is being done in another location, for which the Supreme Government looked favorably upon my petition that they help me with the amount of 2,000 bolivianos, which I have already received, with myself being obliged to deliver to the Minister of War 250 copies of the work when the publication is completed. /Page vii is omitted in the translation. Page viii is blank./

/ix/

Introduction

000

History is a remembrance of the past, counsel for the present, and a warning for the future; it gives us rules for avoiding misfortunes, it permits the present generations to avoid surprises and those yet to come to know of past events.

The peoples without history, without a public consciousness, do not merit the honor of glory or of universal respect. The history of peoples is twofold, political and religious. The first may be considered and judged on origin, their customs, the clothing that they adopted, their relationship with others, wars and hunts, public and private rejoicings, going from this world to the other; and the second, on the relationship which is maintained with invisible beings, spirits, or marvelous beings, the Divinity or Supreme Being, their pious practices, the external worship that they render to God, recognizing His power and goodness; all of which gives rise to Ethnography itself. /The last paragraph of p. ix, pp. x-xi, and the first paragraph of p. xii are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. xii follows./

If this /vices and excesses/ happens in civilized nations, what can be expected among the peoples and tribes of barbarians, among the peoples and tribes of savages? There are such almost everywhere in the world where true civilization has not penetrated, but let us not go too far astray, let us confine ourselves to the land of Columbus and select from among all the nations of the New World our own beloved Bolivia, where we have spent the best time of life...youth.

What is there in this beautiful land of the Great Bolivar? Endless country, torrential rivers, and endless forests, where innumerable tribes swarm. If we fix our eyes on the north, we find natives, if on the south, barbarians, if on the west, savages; but let us concentrate our gaze on the northeast and on the east, and our memory will become confused without being able to enumerate them: the ferocious Sirionós continually waylay the poor traveler who goes to Guarayos or to Corumbá on business, or who returns with his drove loaded with merchandise; they endanger the roads by land as well as by water; the Toba and Mataco fight over the two banks of the Pilcomayo, despite the

/xii cont./

~~000~~ arms of the Delegation and the forts, which they know how to burn frequently; the Tapiete continually threaten the farthest outposts and all their personnel, because the cannon and bayonet are powerless to civilize and to implant in the iron breast and crude heart of the savage /xiii/ humanitarian ideas, philanthropical ideas, because the cannon destroys, it does not civilize.

121 [997] I shall not concern myself with these tribes in the course of my pages; a book could be written about all of them, studying their origin, their customs, their relations with the other tribes and even with the whites, their relations with invisible or imaginary beings, their language and their deeds, but I renounce this arduous task and concentrate upon the Chiriguano race, which was conquered by the missionaries of Tarija long before South American Independence and later by the fellows of the Colegio de Potosí from the year 1870 through a region closed to trade and civilization.

The first thing I shall do in the course of these lines is to set down a description of the Chiriguano region, after which will follow: the origin of the tribe or race, language, statistics, physical and moral character, religion, political organization, the people, customs, imposition of the tembeta /lip plug/ on the males, fasting on the maidens, sicknesses, wars, songs, gatherings, and, finally, death and mourning. I shall try to make this little work pleasant and for that reason I shall allow myself to insert an occasional fable which was formerly held to be a fact and which even today is taken as such in certain regions.

Word to the Reader

114 This little work, which some will call not only useless but also a waste of effort is now born, but perhaps others who like to study races will find it useful for Ethnography, despite the fact that it is inadequate to give a perfect idea of the race among which I have lived since the year 1893.

Before beginning this third work I have tried to acquire some knowledge. I am not the first to write about these Indians; I have been preceded by D'Orbigny, Pelleschi, /xiv/ Mantegazza,

/xiv cont./

114 the Franciscans Conrado, Cardús, Martarelli, Giannecchini, and Señor del Campano, etc. But in Bolivia no complete work is known, notes or pages by authors definitely worthy of every respect and very competent hardly exist, nor have explorers witnessed all that they have written about, from which have come errors which would certainly have been avoided if the reports had not been made so hastily.

121 [124] With all possible calm, patience, and unlimited time, I have set out to talk with the oldest and most knowledgeable Indians, who have explained some points to me, corrected certain others, and made me add still more; but I have already said that with my writing I do not pretend even to equal the luster of those who have preceded me. I shall only give more extension to the ideas which have been set forth by others, ideas which in the majority have been confirmed by the Indians to whom I have addressed myself.

Finally, I must state that since the Chiriguano are in contact with the mission Indians, and these, both old and new, exist in considerable number, I shall add by way of conclusion, after having finished what I have proposed to do, a chapter concerning the heathen Chiriguanos, the neophytes, or new Christians, and the method that the Missionaries use to reduce them religiously and civilly, and the effort required to maintain them in the Catholic faith.

121 128 Everyone will understand that, in order to avoid confusion, this small work will be divided into chapters, and the chapters into sections, for greater clarity and so as not to tire the reader. Certain terms that I must print here by necessity will be written in the Chiriguano language with their corresponding explanation, so that each one may understand the impact of the language. I could also formulate some general propositions with the corresponding Spanish, but the nature of this somewhat voluminous book does not permit it, nor is it necessary, because /xv/ there are various small handbooks which have been printed in this Republic of Bolivia.

/xv cont./

121 Lovers of Ethnography are asked to overlook as much as they can the faults that they will find; rather I pray that they will only note the facts which I set down with all candor and exuberance. With the remarks that precede I am going to begin.

San Buenaventura de Ivo, May 20, 1911.

Father Bernardino de Nino, Missionary, O. F. M.

/Page xvi is omitted in the translation./

/xvii/ Foreword

114

Je prends mon bien partout
où je le trouve.

The Reverend Father de Nino, Franciscan Missionary of the Colegio de Propaganda Fide of Potosí, has honored me by charging me with the presentation to the public of the book which today sees the light, the preparation of which we have already announced in several numbers of the Boletín of the Repartición Nacional under our administration.

A very special reason compelled us to accept such a pleasant task: it provides for us, and for the scientific interest of the country, valuable collaborative material which is brought us by the learned Missionary whose intimate knowledge of the Chiriguano Indians, among whom he has lived as a catechist for many years, is indisputable.

There likewise weighed heavily upon our mind another powerful reason for welcoming the Etnografía Chiriguana with deserved applause: we had in mind the fact that in 1914, by an arrangement arrived at in London at the close of the sessions of the XVIII International Congress of Americanists it was decided that the meeting of the XIX was to be in Washington and this City of La Paz, as was done with the XVII, which held its sessions in commemoration of the Argentinian Centennial of 1810 in Buenos Aires, finishing in Mexico City.

We had to prepare ourselves for the session which was to be /xviii/ held in Bolivia, and this suggested to us the idea that the worthy work of the Reverend Father de Nino might be dedicated

/xviii cont./

114 in the nature of a homage, which its author has done, to the XIX International Congress of Americanists.

It is generally believed that knowledge of the flora, fauna, geology, and export products are quite enough to carry out the work of colonization. Technicians and engineers can be sent in to go over a region in every respect and thus sketch an exact picture of its sources of wealth; meanwhile the human element, that essential element, will just as many times have been overlooked.

The opinion that we propound will be the same one that will be formed by the Americanist reader who reads with the careful study it deserves the missionary's important book with which we are concerned. Undoubtedly the catechist's living there, with daily observation of the neophytes of his reduction, permitted penetrating more intimately into the nature or soul of the beings in his charge. Anyone who reads the very numerous details and facts observed and set down in the present book, we do not doubt, will say that we are right. Can an exploring naturalist, a geographer, observe all that the Reverend Father de Nino relates to us? We believe that the wise perspicacity of a D'Orbigny could not very well see into a face hidden from him.

So it was when the same eminent explorer whose name we have just cited, in his studies of Mójos and Chiquitos, always had recourse to the printed and manuscript sources that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus had left us until their banishment in 1767.

What has most interested us in dealing with the modern Americanist science is the subject dealt with by the author: Chiriguano Ethnography, which is to say, the study of the primary material with regard to their language, practices, customs, traditions, beliefs, etc.

Very serious propositions have been adduced on questions which, among uncivilized races, are frequently hidden. /xix/ are an arcanum. Mr. Tarde has said quite correctly: "That which is unseen among primitive people, as among ourselves, is often more essential to take into consideration than what is seen. Thus, what is normally not seen among them, because

/xix cont./

114 it is an impenetrable secret, is what is related to their internal relations, what is going on in the depths of their hearts." Thus, in support of our judgment of the book by the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino, we have the opinion of the Reverend Father Froberger, who says that "all the missionaries of the Congregation of Cardinal Lavigerie, who preach the Gospel in the region of the Great African Lakes, unanimously state that only after a stay of many years in the midst of those groups of Negroes is it possible to penetrate the mentality and, above all, the psychology of those uncivilized tribes. It seems, thus, that the expansion of civilization to new countries is not possible without the prior study of such peoples, that is, without ethnography."

This science dates from yesterday, being, in its form and in its field of concentration, legitimately called an American science, whose centers of study are the Societies such as the "Smithsonian Institution," and others of the American Union. Our Hemisphere is a fertile field for investigation, in which remain remnants of primitive peoples, like the Chiriguano branch with which Father de Nino deals.

To the intelligent contributions which we have previously received from other illustrious Franciscans, the Reverend Fathers Rafael Sans, Nicolás Armentia, and Fernando de M. Sanjinés, whose works on history, geography, exploration of our rivers, linguistic ethnography, etc., we have published, there is added today the valuable work which we are presenting to the public and which will certainly be appreciated to a high degree by the members of the Congress of 1914.

Now all that is left for us to do, as we have done for the Missionaries Sans and Armentia, is to set down, although briefly, /xx/ some biographical information about the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino.

This wise observer of everything concerning the Indians of the reductions which have been in his charge was born August 29, 1868, in Abruzos Aquilanos. He took his elementary education in his native country, Prátola Peligna. From there he went on to pursue advanced studies and other

/xx cont./

114 subjects in the Episcopal Seminary of Sulmona, where he received the four minor orders initiating him for the priesthood. He entered the Franciscan Order, putting on the habit of a novice in 1886. In 1891 he was ordained a priest and then embarked for our country.

It was in 1893 that he was assigned to the reductions of Chiriguano Indians.

In 1901 he was elected Prefect of Missions, and when the period of six years had elapsed, during which he opened the Missions of the Parapiti Grande, he was elected Vice-Prefect in the year 1907.

The fruit of what he had observed in his career as a catechist began to be known in 1905, with the publication of Nene Chiriguano /Chiriguano Infant/, to be used in the teaching in the schools of Neophytes.

Next, in 1908, he undertook a greater task, writing the continuation of the "Historia de las Misiones de Potosí."

From 1909 to 1911 he wrote the Ethnografía Chiriguana, which is now being published.

In 1911 he made an inspection of the Missions of Tarija, during which he wrote "Rasgos historicos de las Misiones de Potosí" /Historical Features of the Potosí Missions/, by order of the Most Reverend Father Commissioner and Delegate General, Father Wolfgango Priewasser, in order that this document might be published in the Archivo Franciscano, which is in the process of being published.

In 1911 he was elected Delegate of the Commissioner in Bolivia for Missions, Convents, and Schools, a post which he held for nine months.

At present, since May, 1912, we have counted /xxii/ on his assistance, entrusting him with editing "Guía del Chaco," which he has studied for such a long time and which is unfamiliar to our general public and deserves to be known.

The aforementioned "Guide," presented by us to the Minister of War and Colonization, will be published very shortly, in accord with the authorization which we have requested.

/xiii cont./

114 This will not be the last thing which we may receive as a contribution from the Missionary Fathers, inasmuch as we expect another addition which we have requested of them: the arts and vocabularies of the native languages of Bolivia which are still spoken by the tribes reduced by the Colegios de Propaganda Fide. Such matters are very fundamental and of primary importance to Americanist investigation, and already, with the support of the distinguished Director of the Museum of La Plata, we have made known the languages of the Yuracaré, Leco, Tacana, and Cavineño, more of the same sort being needed.

We shall leave it to the public to make a judgment on the work which we are presenting to it, not doubting that there is much to learn in it if we wish to know about the life and manner of being of the Indian who dwells in the remote regions of the Republic, on our frontiers with the neighboring States.

La Paz, December 1, 1912.

Manuel Vicente Ballivián /Illustration appears here./

/Plate facing p. 1/

Group of Indian men and women working at different jobs.

/3/

Chapter One

Description

Introduction

121 When an historian or an ethnographer proposes to write the history or ethnography of a tribe or race, he must naturally begin with a description of the region occupied by the human beings who are for a greater or lesser time to occupy the writer's mind. The general description of the region is almost as necessary as the origin of the tribe, but during the course of the undertaking, whether it be large or small, it does not prevent the one who is burdened with the work from letting his preoccupied fantasies go from time to time and scatter hither and yon lilies and fragrant roses, whenever an unexpected opportunity to sketch a delightful panorama, like the one which unfolds before the traveler on the peak of Huacareta Hill and the one from Iboota Hill descending toward Cuevo, might present itself to him.

In my little work "La continuación de la Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí," I said that in order to bring forth a chapter like the present one, one needed time, elucidation, an abundance of material, and tranquility of spirit, things or properties hard to find together in an obscure missionary like the one who is writing.

/4/ Could my readers perhaps believe that my situation could have changed in so short a time? If they do believe this, it is due to the goodness of their hearts, since the situation of he who writes, instead of improving, seems to have become aggravated. Nonetheless, unpretentiously, I am going to concern myself with a description of the Chiriguano region, only because by its nature the work requires it. In my previous one I never foresaw that I should write this third one, which will cost me a little work and time, because, I repeat, in order to write, tranquility is needed, and the Indians, with their continual grievances, do not allow this for a missionary, which leads to the diversity in style, smooth to harsh, lucid to obscure.

/3 cont./

121 elegant or labored, natural or stilted, which can be observed in one book by a single author. But the fact is that I can only write it here, since only the Indians are able to smooth out the difficulties which naturally will arise in the course of these pages.

I am familiar with almost the entire region inhabited by the Chiriguano, with the exception of a few small areas, but this is of little importance, as much because they are not of historical importance as because I have obtained data about them which show them to be like the rest. It would even be easy to make a map of the region, but I am embarrassed to say that I am not competent to do this.

General View

133 The region which the Chiriguano Indians occupy today is composed of many little valleys /cañadas/ which run from north to south; they are separated by mountain ridges which vary in size, height, precipitous slopes, deep gorges, and incalculable depths. Its length is quite considerable, while its breadth is not over 180 kilometers. The mountains rise to 3,000 meters and more above sea level, but at that altitude there is no longer any vestige of forest, while at 1,200 meters the woods are exuberant.

In the midst of the valleys low hills cross in every direction, and there are some which from a distance look like larger hills or on their way to becoming such; others are completely isolated and quite small, but they attract the attention of the traveler because of their conical shape, like the traditional "[illegible]", located at the beginning of the [262] pampas of Yvu. There is no hill which does not make room open its breast for a multitude of trees of every size and description, like a grove, and /it/ another multitude of vines like the bejuco and low-lying plants of the cactus family, which the Indian uses by eating their fruit, whose combined acidness and sweetness would make them please and be preferred by the most aristocratic lady of the city of Paris.

/3 cont./

133 132 311 The Indian makes full use of the valleys, laying out his field with its own fence; his cow also grazes there, with her calf running and playing across the level ground, and the wild animals live everywhere there, the dauntless foxes, the inoffensive anteaters, and the timid little deer /corzuelas/, while the monkeys seek the woods and the brambly, craggy ground of the hills to entertain themselves in raucous clamor, and the condors love to soar through the air to an extraordinary height, even considering that they launch themselves from the peaks of the highest hills.

133 While the ridges run from north to south, the course of the rivers is quite capricious: they run to the north, regress southward, direct themselves eastward, advance intrepidly westward, but the dominant course of them all as far as the pampas of the Gran Chaco is from west to east, overcoming every difficulty set in their way by the ridges, from which they leap with an extraordinary din, such as at the "Pirapo" (cataract of the fishes) or the waterfalls of the Pilcomayo and Parapiti rivers.

In the land of the Chiriguano, torrents and streams abound; more numerous are the rivulets which quickly lose their waters because within a few kilometers they run into endless sandy areas. If the hidden water should fail to appear occasionally in the ravines, which are small arroyos in origin, life here would be all but impossible, since places like Yvu, which without having a river or anything similar, possesses abundant and excel-
312 lent water, are numbered. The springs which appear in the beds
[157] of the torrents are of the greatest benefit in those places where there are no lakes or ponds, for the Indian, because of his laziness, is not capable of building artificial lakes for his water
[164] supply. In Itatiqui, for instance, not long ago there was a group of some 150 Chiriguano families; they could have made a lake in order to have such a necessity, but neither did they do it nor will they on their own initiative, and they go five kilometers to get it or at least there is the Chiriguano woman with her jug waiting for the forming of the drops which exude from the western slope, from which comes the name "Itatiqui," the stone that drips.

/3 cont./

133 The lakes are natural, but not permanent; they are
[135] many and large; in some the water is very good, but from
others not even the cattle /4/ drink, because it contains so
[132] much saltpeter. They all receive water from the sky, which
sometimes falls with great force and fills them at a single
time. White Christians are now making artificial lakes,
especially in the Gran Chaco and in the vicinity of Caipipendi.
271 When water is completely lacking, the Indian scratches the
824 ground, looking for the root of the "sipoy," samolo, which is
as large as a watermelon; he cuts it at the top, squeezes the
pulp with his hand, it turns to water, and he drinks; thus the need
is met, but when this drink is taken for a long period, it gives
rise to sickness.

311 The land lends itself to farming and to cattle raising,
312 but both industries diminish in those years when the beneficial
433 action of the rains is scarce. Then the crops are lost, and the
132 cattle die from lack of food and from the great amounts of
water that they drink from the rivers and lakes on whose banks
they stay through lack of energy; nonetheless this rarely happens throughout the region, which, because of embracing a
wide area, in one place or another receives showers which renew nature.

Extent and Area

131 The Chiriguano tribe or race was extremely numerous and
[161] thus once took in an extraordinarily large area; traces of these
[464] Indians are found in the vicinity of Tarija, and they may be
found beyond Santa Cruz, where even today Chiriguano men and
women are in larger part those in domestic service with the
genteel families. Toward the capital of the Republic the
Indians still remember that their grandparents used to live in
Tacopaya and even beyond, in Talisco, included in the same
district. Then they extended toward the Bermejo River and,
finally, eastward to within a few leagues of Carandaiti, where the
arid zone, inhabited by the Toba and other savages, begins.

/4 cont./

131 Thus formerly the Chiriguano territory in the north was contiguous with the province of Sara, in the south and southwest with Argentina and the city of Tarija, in the west with Tarabuco country, and in the east with the colony of Carandaiti. According to its former boundaries, it then included an area of 200 leagues from north to south and southwest, and more than 90 leagues west to east.

131 Today this extensive territory has been much reduced be-
16 cause of emigration, caused in part by the whites, under
[648] whose dominion most of them will not resign themselves to
staying; the plagues which decimate the race have a powerful
influence on its further reduction, and very soon /5/ barely the
131 name will remain. Today to the north it scarcely reaches
Abapó, to the south, Itiyuru de Yacuiba, to the west,
Monteagudo, and to the east, Carandaiti, some hundred leagues
from north to south and about 40 from west to east.

131 648 [433] Formerly it embraced several degrees of latitude and three and a half of longitude; as they lost a considerable part of this area, so will they end up by losing it all, for despite their being heirs to the country which God had given them, as one of them was saying to me not long ago, they do not know how to farm it and improve their agriculture; they prefer to go far away and work for others rather than to own land at home. This very day only a few leagues remain in the hands of the Indians, Caipipendi in the province of Cordillera, Gutierrez Canton, and all the territory occupied by the missions, but both are likely to pass into foreign hands, because in fact the Indian is incapable of making the land that he does possess bear fruit; then the few survivors in the territory will be servants in their own house, as are so many others in lands that were once their own.

311 134 [132] The land is very unstable, at least that now occupied; it lacks stone and gravel, and since in their season the rains are torrential, they easily open cracks which in a few years become wide, deep ravines. Contributing a great deal to this are the cattle, which, because of their weight, stir up the land with their hoofs more than other livestock; for this reason

/5 cont./

311 134 in certain valleys that are narrow or not too wide there is scarcely room for fields, because so many little ravines have been formed. Such is the valley of Huacaya Canton; if there lived in it today the multitude of Indians which formerly were there, it would be hard to find, because of the woods and the ravines, sufficient land in the tiny level places for all the fields of maize, French beans, and gourds which they value much for food and gifts; only for other elements would a little valley be very desirable, were it not all owned.

Hills or Mountains

133 Chiriguano territory, because it is very extensive, as has already been seen, is quite varied; from Talisco to Monteagudo and from Tarija to the salt flats of O'Connor Province in the city of Entreríos it is very mountainous and few are the places which extend far enough to form a level place of a few leagues. Although there are /6/ no very high hills, between the two hills which limit the valleys there is an infinity of low hills of all sizes in height, width, and length.

The pampas begin imperceptibly from Monteagudo in the west and from Aguairenta, where the Gran Chaco begins; said pampas from Monteagudo little by little grow larger or again become small as the ridges permit, until they reach the last cordillera, which is found to the east of the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, at a distance of one league, behind which begin the immense plains of the Gran Chaco, where the horizon becomes lost.

The principal mountains are: Padilla, called through antonomasia "The Hill," because its configuration is the same one that is called "Curi" toward San Juan del Pirai (1).

1. The hill is different from the Curi, because the former is more an enormous rock which ends in the ranges of Limon.

At this point the road across the hill is very rough and long, but if it is rather long toward Padilla, it is, by contrast, as

/6 cont./

133 [241] [361] comfortable to go down as to go up, if an occasional short section be excepted. The hill of Padilla attracts the attention of all; there grow and ripen well both potatoes and maize, and the hill is sprinkled on both sides with houses of all sizes. From January to May the fields give it a quite picturesque and pleasing appearance as it rises some 2, 340 meters above sea level, for which reason no doubt it is unforested with the trees which are found nearby growing exuberantly on the plain toward Monteagudo along the rivulet called Limón.

Next come the hills called Huacangui, Bartolo, and Cazaderos, the first two found on the right bank and the latter on the left bank of the Acero River, which touches the slopes of the last named; the three have no peculiarity, only that they are tree covered, rather high, and the road through [136] them is very bad. Cazaderos Hill abounds in jaguars, and it is the same hill which must be crossed or climbed in order to go from San Juan del Piray to San Pablo de Huacareta; before one climbs this hill near San Juan, there is another small one called Ñañoloma, which attracts the attention of all because it is very narrow, low, and straight; it is a straight line which rises in the middle of the valley and continues without ending to the southeast; the Piray and Parapiti rivers wash the base of Ñañolama.

/7/ Monteagudo has a somewhat irregular plain, but it is not interrupted by hills until three leagues away, that is, at the Parapiti River in Matara, where there is another hill renowned only because it is a road and an extremely bad one. The Parapiti River bathes it at its base, and along the river itself the way is very boldly opened through the hard rock, forming a waterfall there; this same hill must be climbed to leave Ingre Canton, as well as Igüembe, where the passage is also quite rough.

133 173 648 From Matara to Ivu there are hills and rises of little importance, if one makes an exception of the hills of Itiranti, Saararenta, and Incahuasi, which last separates the province of Acero from that of Cordillera; on Incahuasi there are an infinite number of ruins of fortresses and houses, which, according to what they say and the name Incahuasi, "Inca's House," was an encampment of Quechua Indians, when, at the orders

/7 cont./

133 [173] [648] of one of their emperors, they tried to conquer all the Chiriguano, but they had to halt at the top of said hill without daring to go down to the pampas of Caraparicito, where they were awaited by all the Indians, allied with the Toba.

Cuevo, like all of the cantons of the frontier, is shut in by two ridges, that of Saararenta to the west and that of Aguaragüe to the east, the latter being the last one which is found; it is quite high, measuring 1,500 meters, and with it end the cordilleras in the east, giving way to the plains of the Bolivian Chaco.

From the peak of Aguaragüe the view is most delightful; to the right can be seen the picturesque panorama of Cuevo Canton with its hills, lakes, fields, forests, and stream, which, with its sand, looks like an immense ribbon of homespun twisting through the entire region, and to the left extend the immense plains, lost to view in the distance. From this peak can be seen the lakes and fields of Carandaiti, until the horizon is lost in the pampas inhabited by the savages.

The above-named ranges of the former and present territory of the Chiriguano continue to the north and south to Santa Cruz and Tarija and Argentina, assuming different names in each place, but they are ramifications of the renowned Andes. I have crossed the last one, Aguaragüe, to Santa Cruz, and it passes north of that city, as well as on the southwest toward Tarija and O'Connor Province, ending in Tartagal in the Argentine Republic.

/8/ Rivers and Lakes

It can easily be understood that this immense area and extent of land, crossed from north to south by so many mountains of all heights and dimensions and by a great number of hills in every direction, would be furrowed with rivers, torrents, streams, brooks, and abundant springs, while in the Gran Chaco all of these disappear and natural and artificial lakes and ponds begin to appear.

/8 cont./

133 The rivers which bathe the Chiriguano region are four;
the Pilcomayo, the Parapiti, the Grande or Guapay River,
and the Acero. / The Pilcomayo begins in the northwest of
Potosí Department and crosses Chiriguano country in the south-
east. Its water, sweet and clear up to the southern part of
[135] Igüembe Canton, is somewhat salty in Huacaya and
Villamontes, because to the southeast of Ibopeiti it receives
as a tributary the Salado River with its rather abundant waters;
these waters are quite salty, because they pass through the salt
flats of O'Connor Province. Its bed is wide and shallow, but
its flow is very abundant from December to April, because this
is the rainy season. If in Villamontes the Germans or others
open the great canal proposed by the Supreme Government, the
navigation of this river up to the estuaries /esteros/ of the P.
Patiño, even in small boats, will be made nearly impossible,
because there will not be enough water for it.

136 In the Pilcomayo fish are abundant: bagre, shad /sábalo/,
and dorado; some of the latter are very large, up to a meter
and a half in length. The first freshets of the rainy season wash
up and kill many fish, leaving them stretched out on the ground
on both banks or piling them up like stones or firewood. Then
226 the Chiriguano Indians, the Toba, and Mataco fill their houses,
and dogs and crows come there by the thousands and stuff them-
selves, while the air is full of unbearable miasmas.

[221] The most satisfactory and safest season for fishing is from
the May cold until the end of July and in certain years up to
[251] the middle of August; then all the Indians are fishermen; they
fish for themselves and for trading; they open the fish though
[438] the middle vertically and dry it in the sun. If nobody goes
there to barter, they go off to sell it at 20 centavos apiece,
[435] but generally during the fishing season the tribes far from the
rivers go to the banks of same, taking maize or parched meal
and bringing back abundant fish. /Illustration appears here./

Parapiti River

/9/

157
181
185
[133] The banks of the Pilcomayo are difficult for the opening of canals because they are quite high, but it must also be admitted that the Indians do not concern themselves with progress, are not ambitious like the whites who have settled on its banks; the latter also, because of being few, poor, and of limited means, almost all prefer to get rich with little work and little outlay of money, for which reason they devote themselves to raising cattle and hogs, which thrive without much care or expense.

133 The Parapiti is the second river named; it contains less water than the first and in Pomabamba, where it begins, it is very insignificant, but ten leagues farther, or after it has crossed Curi Ridge, it already begins to be respectable, and in front of the town of San Juan del Piray it appears as a ferocious beast ready to do battle with a weaker adversary, like the Armado River, whose waters it stops or makes recede, just as a lackey halts in the presence and at the sight of his master.

This river runs from west to east with few digressions as far as Mariqui in Parapiti Canton, whence it goes north and from its beginning it crosses the central part of Chiriguano country. In San Juan del Piray the river is some 12 leagues from the Pilcomayo; both rivers could easily be joined to make them one, for which there was once a project, but it would cause much harm to agriculture, especially in Cordillera Province, and the Pilcomayo would have the slight advantage of an increase in flow which would perhaps make it navigable from Villamontes to the Esteros.

In San Juan del Piray the Parapiti River receives as tributaries the Armado and the Piray rivers, and beyond San Pablo de Huacareta the waters of the river of Sauces and several others join it. Thus the Parapiti is a river of some consideration, and its bed is very dangerous at nearly every crossing because of the absolute lack of stone, especially from the Missions of San Antonio and San Francisco to Isoso Canton.

/9 cont./

133 [312] [231] At this point the river disappears completely from the month of June to December or January, forcing the farmers to make great excavations in its bed in order to be able to water their livestock; they have to go down to five meters in certain places. The course of the now dry river is easily seen, because in the season of great floods it leaves on the bank all the trash which it drags along and in its bed all the sand; the waters reappear to form the San Miguel River in the province of Velasco.

133 312 /10/ The benefit that agriculture and cattle raising draws from the Parapiti is indisputable; without it the existence of Parapiti and Isoso cantons would be almost impossible. All the wealth of both areas would disappear, there would be no livestock, sugar plantations, or rice fields as there are now on both banks, which lend themselves marvelously to the opening of canals and irrigating the sugar-cane fields which abound there. Nevertheless, the extraordinary floods of certain years do much damage, making plantations and their equipment disappear almost completely.

136 This river contains few fish; there are only bagre and shad and others of little value; the big dorados do not exist and there are only a few small ones in its tributary, the Piray River, but strangely they do not enter the Parapiti; at the confluence they go back. Below the San Francisco Mission the fish disappear, because the water diminishes until it almost all disappears near Mariqui.

241 311 312 In Isoso maize is planted in the month of June in order to harvest the crop before the beginning of the big floods which inundate it all, and during the rainy season they are content to sow frijoles, gourds, melons, and watermelon far from the riverbed, but fruit is not always produced, since the region is rather arid. The waters of this river are quite sweet, and this must be one reason why agriculture is very vigorous on its banks, as any traveler can see.

/10 cont./

133 The Guapay or Grande River is the third river that I mentioned. in Cordillera it is called Abapó and Guapay, or the Valiente River by the Chiriguano; it begins in Cochabamba Department , waters Arque Province, and crosses the northern part of the Chiriguano region, washing a part of Cordillera Province. It passes through Santa Cruz and mixes its waters with those of the Mamoré; its sweet and clear waters contain a great abundance of fish.

The banks of this river in Cordillera Province easily allow the opening of canals to make the adjacent lands fertile. There on the left bank, especially in Abapó and Cabezas, it seems that the river is inviting man to make use of its waters by irrigating great stretches of land. What wealth the Republic would have were a foreign colony to be established on the banks of this river! But as long as there is no method of transportation by the construction of railroads, all progress is impossible; it is impossible to think of colonies, /11/ because the immigrant neither comes on foot nor is he accustomed to eating only parched or stewed maize or squash with beans.

The Acero River is a tributary of the above. Its source is beyond Supachuy, and some four or five leagues from the town it is already a torrent; its waters operate many mill wheels, are clear and fresh, abound in fish, shad, bagre, *dorado*, and many others. The bed of the Acero is full of rocks, doubtless because it runs through rather rugged hills and hillocks; only in the rainy season is it dangerous to cross it, because then it is full of water and turbulent; at other times it can be crossed without the least concern.

In addition to these four main rivers there is another multitude of brooks and streams which contain abundant water, so long as they do not run far from the hills or do not fail to run between rocky slopes, but as soon as they arrive at sandy ground they are lost, and then, just in order to drink, it is necessary to make more or less deep excavations. In Acero Province in Ticucha Canton there is the rivulet called Taperilla which comes from far away and converts that district into a delight and makes it very productive; great plantations of all kinds of plants and productive crops could be made there.

/11 cont./

133 From Igüembre Canton natural and artificial lakes begin to appear, the first ones end in Cuevo Canton and the later ones begin to appear from Buyuive, vice-Canton of Ñancaroinza, and continue through Caipipendi, Carandaiti, and Parapiti, on the right bank. Some of them may well dry up during the year, but if the rains are plentiful they will easily last until the new rainy season. The lakes are a great benefit in the arid zones, and without them there would be no life, since there is none where they are lacking; it is precisely through the lack of water that it is difficult to cross the plains of the Gran Chaco to get to Paraguay more quickly. A railroad from Santa Cruz to Isoso and from the east to Oriente in a straight line would avoid all difficulty; it would be 100 leagues through level, only slightly irregular terrain.

Climate

132
821 Without taking into consideration an occasional isolated exception, in the entire area or in most of it we can state as a general principle, through experience, that in the vast region inhabited by the Chiriguano race there are only two seasons of the year, called summer and /12/ winter, despite which they distinguish by name four seasons, "Aracu, Roi, Maentiha, Ipiroha," hot, cold, planting, and harvest, or summer, winter, spring, and fall.

132 The two seasons of which I speak are very marked: the summer by the abundance of rain, and the winter by drought. The first rains begin in the month of November or sometimes at the end of October, increase gradually and are frequent in the month of January, scarce in February, irregular in March, and generally stop in the month of April, or after Easter. The rains are preceded and accompanied by lightning and thunder, which fill one with fear, especially when there is added to them violent wind, and they end leaving in the air an incomparable freshness; rarely does rain fall calmly as in other parts of the world.

The rain is nearly always brought by the south wind, rarely by the others, and never or almost never by the north wind. In the area now inhabited by the Chiriguano snow is almost never seen; on rare occasions it falls in the highest

/12 cont./

132 mountains, where it melts away in the first hours of sunlight. On June and July nights a small quantity of water will freeze, but this does not happen every year.

The temperature is quite variable everywhere, and is even irregular throughout the former area, both because of the elevation of some places and because of atmospheric accidents. The lowest temperature is 5, the highest 34, and the average 18. The hottest months are November, December, and January, and the coldest May,June, and July; nevertheless there is frost even in the months of August, September, and October, which are very oppressive because of the lack of rains to cool the atmosphere. Although the heat may be very intense in the months of November, December, and January, it is tempered by the beneficent action of the rains, which fall frequently and abundantly, but if, as happens, they cease for a relatively long period, the heat is nearly unbearable by day and insufferable at night, with sweat running off the body like a bath, which does not allow one even to think of sleeping, except in the mornings, which are always somewhat cool.

The above-noted temperature is regularly observed in the center of the area; it varies to the north, west, and southwest. In Santa Cruz the thermometer registers higher temperatures, in Padilla and Tarija lower; there are days when a thermometer placed in the sun registered 60°, and despite this it does not cause frequent sunstrokes among these Indians who wear nothing on the head for protection while they work in the fields.

/13/ In the cold months, only when the north wind dominates can very pleasant and remarkably clear days be enjoyed, but the south wind upsets it all, covering the sky with clouds and beginning the drizzle and the cold which saddens the heart, producing sickness, because the changes are very sudden, even in the rainy season. The south wind in the summer can easily bring about the loss of crops in a few days. What could be the cause of this? I have said that the rains almost always come with the south wind, but it happens that instead of rain hail will fall over much of the area; then the

/13 cont./

132 atmosphere immediately cools down and there begins a cold wind whose chill is increased as it passes through the region of hail, and since the maize stalks are still tender they are easily stricken. The hail that falls is big, the earth is churned up, and it kills birds, sheep, goats, and other animals, if they are unable to hide in the bushes or under thick trees, but this does not happen often nor every year.

[133] Earthquakes are most rare; I felt them twice during my stay in the region, in 1899 and 1909, but the wind is sometimes so strong that it seems to make the earth tremble; there is no doubt but that it tears up trees and strips them, ruins buildings, and dismantles tiled roofs. [145] Foreigners in this so hot and changeable climate soon age and turn gray, but the natives who are used to it from childhood, despite the vices of drinking and others to which they surrender, enjoy a relatively long and healthy life.

It can readily be understood from what has been said that here the seasons of the year follow a different order from that which is seen in the Old World. Despite the fact, then, that there are no more than two seasons, we always can and ought to consider the four, in order to follow the general rule of the universe which divides the year into four parts. Summer begins December 21, fall March 21, winter June 21, and spring September 21, but all of these come ahead of time, as anyone who has lived here can testify.

Fertility

133
182
311
312
361

The Aguaragüe range, which is found to the east and one league from the Mission of San Buenaventura de Yvu, is the last one in Chiriguano territory. Small towns and families of these Indians are scattered here and there are still found east of the said range some 15 leagues away, but beyond that /14/ there are none because the area is arid and dry, "igũi utini vae," as they say, and the Chiriguano accustomed to planting maize, beans, and gourds cannot live where there is a scarcity of rain for his crops and water for his daily bath.

/14 cont./

311 The closer the traveler gets to the *Gran Chaco*, the less
312 water and the less fertility he finds; the very fields of Yvu
241 are patent proof, for crops are rarely abundant there. When the rains are torrential in other sections, they are sparse in Yvu; the farther to the west one travels from Aguaragüe, the more fertile is the land, because the hills and hillocks are more frequent and higher, water more abundant, and consequently the land more moist, which is necessary for agricultural production.

The fields are suitable for raising cows and horses, for the multiplication of sheep and pigs; the year when it fails to rain, however, there is lack of food for the livestock, as well as lack of water, the suffering is great, and numbers die near the waters which are found at some distance from the spots where there is feed, such as the slopes of the hills and the tops of the hillocks, abounding in tree leaves.

137 The countryside is clothed with grasses in the summer, but the region begins to turn beautiful in the spring and even earlier. The vigorous woods, dry and leafless during the cold months, begin to dress in verdant foliage at the beginning of the month of September, and in a few days nature is rejuvenated. Then it is very lovely to contemplate from some slight rise a broad pampa where there are carob trees, groves of catalpas or lapachos, the first green, the second red, and the third yellow and purple.

241 The territory is productive only in the rainy season, be-
182 cause the Chiriguano in general will not take the trouble to put
[132] in a good irrigation ditch when he can; he waits for it all from
[433] the high heavens. Miracles could have been worked on the banks of the rivers in times past; today it is difficult because they are very few and, like their grandparents, are satisfied with maize, a little sugar cane, and other delicacies, like sweet potatoes or batatas, mandioca, and peanuts.

241 Large-scale planting begins at the end of November or the
[221] beginning of December, after the country has been watered by two or three abundant rains. The maize grows very high and, when there is no lack of water, produces two or three ears on each stalk. The frijoles produce three crops. The sugar cane

/14 cont./

241 grows up to two meters and even more, the mandioca /15/ produces one arroba per plant, and the sweet potato even more because a single plant can spread and extend eight or ten meters, being productive in every root put in the ground, just so it is suitably covered with earth there.

311 The fertility of the region which I describe cannot be doubted, but the inhabitants do not cultivate it. If in this area there were persons who liked to work, the land would produce more; for this is of no use to mestizo people either, since he who was a peon in Sucre or Tarija wants to be a gentleman here because he is not a Chiriguano, as a result of which the very banks of the rivers, these shores of the Parapiti and Río Grande which appear to be beckoning the farmer, remain almost uncultivated. Ticucha Canton is another area where a colony of foreigners would work miracles, planting vineyards and fruit trees and so many other products that could be developed there; the same could be said of so many other sites.

[245] It seems that the grape does not grow in certain places, but this is because it has not been tried. Not long ago the missionary padre of San Antonio del Parapiti planted some 200 vine stocks. Who would believe it? Within six months some plants yielded quite ripe fruit, and the plants developed in an extraordinary fashion. In nearly all the missions there is cultivation of the vineyard, and in Charagua it is on a large scale through the work of foreigners; therefore what is needed are thinking men and good farmers in order to make these beautiful lands productive, especially along the river banks, where sugar-cane plantations, banana plantations, coffee fields, vineyards, and so many other things that are productive here could be established.

433
241 From the foot of Padilla Hill the forest is very vigorous and continues so to the east until it ends at Aguaragüe. Fig trees yield with little cultivation, the nopal with none at all since it flourishes on hillocks and hills and, such an agreeable and refreshing fruit, is the principal occupant. Chirimoyas, oranges, lemons, and guavas also grow, as well as onions and

/15 cont./

433 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere, tomatoes and garlic 241 mature the year round, and in the gardens lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, and peppers create the beauty of a spot, without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits, but they suffer much from the black butterflies, which damage them before they ripen.

Without work the land will produce only briars and brambles, and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and [157] cattle ranches here, progress will be slight and the population [181] sparse, because the Indian has no ambition, and life is relatively inexpensive; [185] the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock, and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters, who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly, and the best way is to raise stock, the result of which is that great areas of briars and brambles exist.

Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden, but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches, because small rivers are plentiful, particularly in the mountainous region, and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills, pampas, and valleys, and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [137] There are in fact oppressive heat, intense cold, and a temperate climate, thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya, from the ubiquitous maize to wheat, rice, and barley, from the mulberry /mora/, which grows spontaneously, to the rich grape, whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

824 /16 cont./
139 I am going to make a brief list of some trees and plants
[14] which I know, without pretending to be a botanist, a subject
I have not studied. I shall only say that I have learned it
through experience and careful reading; when describing
certain plants, I shall also make note of the use made of the
bark, root, leaves, and branches of some.

ACACIA BALSAMICA. -- This is the quina-quina, under
which name it is known here in Chiriguano country, a tall,
straight tree, whose wood is ideal for building because the wood
borer does not damage it; it is much used here in the construction
of upper roofs, especially for the braches or trusses on
which the roof frame is to rest. It is plentiful in Cordillera
Province and even in Acero Province.

/17/ ACACIA SAPONARIA. -- This tree is large and its
[342] wood light, perhaps even lighter than cedar, but it is of less
[492] value; it is whitish and much used for making doors and windows,
but the main use to which said wood is put is in saddleries to
[296] make pads for saddles. The seeds are similar to monkey ears
[515] and are good for washing clothes and to keep the skin of the
face free of blemishes; here it is known by the name "timboy."

ACACIA AMARILLA /A. moniliformi/. -- It is a medium-sized
tree of rather lightweight hardwood, for which reason
drawers or wash basins and yokes for oxen are made with it.
[372] It is no good for making fire, because it smells when it burns
from which it gets the Chiriguano name "Tatane," fire that
smells; the wood is yellow.

ACACIA ASTRINGENTE. -- There are many groves of
[342] trees of this class here and there; it is the most abundant tree,
[281] the wood is good for small joists because the wood borer does
not eat it; the bark contains much tannin, and it is the wood
most used for tanning hides by both Indians and whites; the
latter call it sebil and the former "Curupau."

245 ACHIOTE. BIXA ORELLANA. -- This is cultivated in
137 fields and gardens, grows to a height of two and a half meters,
824 its leaves are dark green; it produces abundant fruit in a sort of
pod covered with bristles and filled inside with fiery red seeds,
which are what makes the little tree highly valued. They
[302] serve as food coloring, and the Chiriguano paint their faces
[303]
[439]

265 /17 cont./

[illegible] 314 [304] [303] [434] and feet with them, as will be seen; for this last purpose it is prepared beforehand, many pods being boiled in an olla, and pastes of every size are made from the decoction, depending on the value that they wish them to have; it is traded by Chiriguanos and whites.

137 824 The Bixa orellana, or "Urucu," as the Indians call it, is a plant of high value for the Chiriguano; he will travel far to obtain a small amount in the towns or places where it is prepared.

[342] [465] ALGARROBO. -- The place where this extraordinarily large tree abounds is in the pampas; thus in the plain of "Caraparí" of Tres Misiones, Ivo, Parapiti, and the Gran Chaco it is found forming forests. It is very bulky and has long branches which in some touch the ground; its trunk is thick and not always erect, the wood is excellent, similar to oak in spite of being dark, and it is much used for making tuns, door and window casings, and even for barrels. In [262] [273] Chiriguano this tree is called /18/ "Ibope," and the "Ibope" pod is long, compressed, and yellow; when it is ripe, it is sweet and much sought after by livestock and by the Chiriguanos; it is their food and drink in times of scarcity as well as other times, and the mead that they make is extremely intoxicating. On the bank of the Pilcomayo even the whites eat this pod; the Toba, Choroti, Mataco, and others hold their orgies when the algarrobo ripens.

[262] ALGARROBO CHICO. -- This is a smaller tree than the previous one, even its fruit is smaller, speckled in color, and sweeter than the true algarrobo, but not as abundant as the first. As the pods are small and the seeds within abundant, it is not highly thought of among the Chiriguanos; they only eat it out of necessity or as a tidbit; the wood is not valued very highly because undoubtedly there are others that are better. In Chiriguano it is called "Ibope rai."

[262] ALGARROBO AGRIO. -- This is also small, and it is called "sour" because the flavor of the pods really is sour. In times of scarcity it is also food for the Chiriguanos; the pods are small, and the tree has its congenial sites. The Chiriguano Indians call it "Ibopetayi."

/18 cont./

[137]
[illegible] ALGARROBO NEGRO. -- Among the Indians this is called "kupema," and the whites call it tusca; it multiplies and grows very fast. Sometimes 20 or 30 newly sprouted plants can be counted around a single cake of cow dung, which indicates that the cattle eat it in abundance, and where it does not already exist they sow it with their bowels.
[262] It grows to a height of some three meters and is very thorny, which makes it difficult to travel through places where it is abundant; when there is no other food it is one of the Chiriguano's resources.

[322] ALGARROBILLA. -- The wood of this plant, which the Chiriguano call "Iglioyapire," is black and very good for cabinetmakers; it is a species of ebony and is strong. Implements of war and those for fiestas of the tribes are made of this wood; its trunk is twisted, and it rarely has a single trunk; the flowers are yellow and the berries much sought after, by goats, but it makes them abort.

ALGODONERO /cottonwood/. -- This is a leafy tree with many branches; it grows to a height of two meters, has yellow flowers and a white boll when it is ripe, which is then picked, dried in the sun, the material pulled away from the seeds and cleaned. The "mandiyu" cotton is very useful; hammocks, ponchos, saddlebags, and sacks are made with it; it would even be easy to manufacture tocuyo, but this is not done because what comes from outside is very cheap and /19/
[759] showier, even though it is not as strong as the other. Its leaves used as a poultice are anticancerous, and its seeds in the form of a pomade work against herpes and skin eruptions; oil for lighting can be extracted from the seeds.

ANNONA. -- The annona is a bush which grows to barely one meter; it has congenial places, the pampas, which have soil mixed with sand. In the said pampas it thrives in abundance, but it is even found in other places. The ripe fruit is red and like the pineapple in shape, but the pulp and seeds are like the chirimoya, as is the flavor of the pulp. Before it ripens, even the skin is very similar to that of the chirimoya. The Chiriguano call it "Araticu."

ASPIDOSPERMO BLANCO. -- This tree is of great size and it is abundant almost everywhere; the wood is white and good

/19 cont./

137 824 [859] in dry places; when dampness penetrates it, it is destroyed in a few years, as experience has shown. The bark that is found under the first layer is split, washed in tepid water, and left to steep overnight; it cures intermittent fever. The Argentinians call it cacha, the whites quebracho, and the Chiriguano "Igũiraro."

[262] AZUFAIFO /jujube tree/. -- This is abundant hereabouts and is a tree of medium size. Its wood is not valued very highly, but the fruit, the size of a grape seed and of a dark coffee color, is a great resource in times of scarcity for the poor Chiriguano. It ripens in January and February and is liked even by cattle and by sheep and pigs. The whites call it mistol and the Chiriguano "Yuá."

245 BANANA TREE. -- Cultivated in orchards and well fenced-in fields, it forms a grove, and each plant yields or produces a cluster, very large on some of them. When the ripe cluster is removed, the plant that produced it must be cut in order that the others may produce their own. There are several [262] varieties, large and small, the latter very sweet and eaten as fruit, and the former only when boiled and roasted; the whites call them plátano, and the Chiriguano "Pacoba."

137 824 [871] BEGONIA ACUOSA. -- This is a tiny little bush one vara in height, which under the ground has a large root like a watermelon and even larger; it contains much pulp which, when squeezed, yields potable water and is used for it in times of scarcity. The Chiriguano call it "Sipoi."

[342] CATALPA. -- This is a large tree and fairly strong. Its wood is used in the construction of houses. The color of the /20/ wood is dark, but when it is newly cut it is somewhat [515] green. Its flowers are purple, and the Chiriguano chew them to whiten their teeth; they are bitter and because of this the tree is called "Tayi," or bitter, in Chiriguano, the whites call it lapacho.

CEIBA. -- A large tree with deformed trunk, and furnished with sharp points, broad leaves, and large, white flowers which produce a material similar to cotton without fibers, for which reason it is smoother and shinier; it is used for mattresses [312] [415] and pillows and candle wicks. The wood is spongy and not at all hard; from it are made troughs to hold water from year to year and in this way they are not soon damaged. Its ashes

137 /20 cont./ ITS ashes
824 are good for the manufacture of soap, the bark is an emetic.
[388] The whites call it toborochi and the Chiriguano "Samuú."
[757] There are several varieties and all of them are utilized to some degree or other.

[322] [415] CEIBO. -- This tree is smaller than the former, but its wood is much superior, very fibrous, and rather light in weight, being used to make troughs which are very durable since they
[262] neither split nor are eaten by wood borers. It is very pretty when it blooms; the flowers are fiery red and good for salads. The Chiriguano call it "Suinandi."

DRAGO /dragon tree/. -- A tall tree, straight and quite thick; the wood is strong and useful. If an incision is made
[757] in the tree, a very red resin comes out; its bark is the best for making the teeth hard and for curing scurvy. The gum called "dragon's blood" is extracted from this tree. The whites call it tipa and the Chiriguano "Gũirapitiyu guasu."

ENEA /cattail/. -- An aquatic plant which abounds in certain ponds and pools formed by the water of rivers which flow away from the main stream; the Indians use it for roofing their houses, muleteers for packsaddles, and others for mats in the dwellings, on which they also have their bedding for sleeping. This is the totora or matara of the whites and the "Caipempe" of the Chiriguano.

[262] ESTORAQUE /storax/. -- This is a very large tree of the forest; it has whitish flowers and yellow fruit the size of a fig, which is edible and a favorite of parrots and monkeys; the Chiriguano eat it as a fruit and call it "Aguai."

GARGATEA or CARICA MAMAYA. -- This tree is not very abundant nor is it found in every section. It is of normal size, with a straight trunk and smooth bark softer than the fig tree; the wood is soft and is of no use at all, being similar to that
[262] of the ceiba, or toborochi. Its leaves are like those of the fig
[252] tree, and the fruit is of the /21/ same size and form, but yellow; it is edible and good when boiled or roasted, if eaten raw, it hurts the mouth. In Chiriguano it is called "Caincantina."

/21 cont./

137 GUAYABO /guava/. -- This fruit-bearing tree is found
824 wild and cultivated; it is of medium size, and the fruit, when
[245] ripe, is yellow on the outside and purple on the inside, and
its bittersweet flavor is very pleasant and laxative. The green
fruit and the roots are astringent; the Chiriguano know it by
the same name. The wood has no use at all, and even if it
[262] did, the Indians would not use it because it produces edible fruit.
They regret it when any of these trees and others, like the
algarrobo, are destroyed.

GÜEMBE. -- This plant thrives on the trunks of high trees,
where it puts its root, and others which penetrate the ground
[492] hang down from there. The roots and lianas are dark in color;
very strong and durable halters are made from its bark; it is
not found everywhere. One encounters it from the left bank
of the Parapiti River; its fruit is similar to that of maize, for
which reason it is called maize of the air, and it is edible.

HIGUERA AMERICANA /Amerigan fig/. -- This is the
[262] guapoy of the Chiriguano and the bibosi of the populace; al-
though the fruit is rather sour, it is edible. Bats like it, and it
[757] is annoying to have this tree near the dwellings; it has a milky
juice like the common fig tree, which, applied to wounds,
heals them. In addition to the above fig tree, there is the
[245] common one which flourishes with very little care, in the towns,
[439] especially the Mission ones, it is widely cultivated by the
[431] natives and its fruit is used by them for gifts and trade with the
whites.

244 MANDIOCA. -- This plant is called "Mandio" or
"Mandiporopi" by the Chiriguano Indians. A little book
written by a Jesuit missionary of the old Paraguay missions
relates that this plant was left to those Indians by Saint
Thomas the Apostle who, according to their tradition, came
here to preach the doctrine of the Redeemer. Mandioca is
[252] an excellent food and very digestible; it is eaten boiled,
[262] roasted, and fried in lard. It is a plant cultivated by whites
and by Indians.

/21 cont./

137 MARA or CAOBA /mahogany/. -- This tree is found in
824 all sections. It is a strong wood, but the white part at the
[342] sides is subject to decay. It is rather heavy and hard and is
[352] only used for door and window casings and even for tables.
The leaves are permanent, but not too good for shade. If the
[757] leaves are touched with some force in order to pick them, they
cause a skin eruption which disappears only when treated with
bees' honey; I cured myself this way twice.

137 /22/ MELOCOTÓN /peach tree/. -- This tree, native to Persia, is quite productive in this region, but its fruit, severely attacked by the black butterfly, does not reach maturity because it always has worms. The apple tree grows in high places and where the atmosphere is not so hot, but both of these are orchard trees, not native ones, having been imported by the whites, who cultivate them, which can also be said of the quince tree.

137 MOLLE. -- This tree is not found in the central part of the
824 region and thus is not native here, being obtained only by
cultivation. The whites and the Missionaries have introduced
it into the towns with good results. It is found in abundance in
[757] the district under the jurisdiction of Padilla; it has permanent
[273] leaves, which are medicinal, as is the resin which comes from
the trunk; a cooling beverage, pleasant and similar to wine,
except that its odor is somewhat disagreeable, is made from
[757] the seeds. The eucalyptus is another tree which thrives
regularly here, but it has also been imported; its leaves, also
permanent, are very good medicine for the endemic fevers; its
trunk is an excellent wood. Neither tree has a name in
Chiriguano, from which it can be deduced that they have been
imported, like the grape vine, the common fig tree, the
peach, quince, etc.

MORA OR MORERA /mulberry/. -- This tree is found wild from the left bank of the Parapiti River in Cordillera Province. It rises to a height of some 15 meters, is bulky with a very leafy top, and the fruit is smaller than that of the cultivated mulberry; the wood is solid and compact like that of the soto and has even better qualities; it is used for machines for milling sugar cane, plantations of which are common from the banks of the Parapiti River, where sugar of the highest quality

/22 cont./

137 824 is manufactured. On the slopes of the hills is also found the blackberry /zarzamora/, whose fruit is so pleasant to the palate, but whose thorn, which is like a cat's claw, is quite dangerous and barbed. The mulberry in Chiriguano is called "Tatayigua."

245 NARANJO /orange/. -- Neither the orange nor the lemon are native to the Chiriguano region, but they flourish greatly and grow to some height. Where it is easy to open irrigation ditches and possible to irrigate orange and lemon trees, they produce large, juicy fruit, the former being very sweet and the sourness of the latter being mild. The citron tree flourishes and is a plant imported here; its fruits are as big as gourds. The Chiriguano cultivate the orange tree here and there, but the whites cultivate it on a large scale; I know of some /23/ rather large orange groves, and they exist in nearly all the missions.

137 824 NOGAL. -- This tree of extraordinary height is only found wild; the leaves are very small and somewhat like those of the true nogal; the fruit is edible, but its shell is hard to crack. [258] The flavor and characteristics are the same as those of walnuts, so that oil, which is used instead of that from the olive, can be extracted from them. The wood is rather dark and good [322] for carpentry and cabinetwork, but it is inferior to that of the true nogal, which is found in the cultivated state where there [386] is sufficient moisture; a dark coffee-colored dye is prepared from the leaves, the bark of the trunk, or the roots, for dyeing wool, for staining other woods, and for printing ink.

NOPAL. -- This is the fruit-bearing plant which is most abundant in the region and which is found everywhere without any cultivation, for which reason it is most highly regarded by the Chiriguano, who is naturally lazy. But since it is sought [245] by the cattle, it is beginning to disappear or, more exactly, it is not found very much in the woods and clearings, but the Indian still cultivates it because it flourishes easily without need of irrigation and multiplies without the need of planting other shoots. It is convenient for the laziness of the Indian; the yellow flowers come out around each spathe and the fruit matures there as well; it is full of small seeds and sweet pulp, pleasant and refreshing. Some trees are covered with long

/23 cont./ some trees[1] are covered with long
137 sharp points and others are not, only having an occasional im-
824 perceptible sharp point; the fruit of both is pleasant and serves
[439] for gifts and trade for the Indian, who sells it to the whites,
[431] the ones who, rushing to get rich more quickly and easily, are
[648] little concerned about the nopal and the fig tree. In Chiriguano
it is called "Saini."

PALM or PALMER. -- The palm tree has congenial places, where immense forests are formed and sometimes grow all around a lake like a great garland; it is a very tall and smooth tree without a single branch. Its leaves are in the form of a
[435] fan and are used to make hats and for sieves, which are sold
[342] for 30 or 40 centavos apiece. The wood is good for joists in
houses, and it is also split into shingles for roofs and is quite durable, if the precaution is taken of cutting them after the full moon. In Chiriguano it is called "Carandai," and the place which they occupy, "Carandaiti," palm grove.

PALMA CHRISTI. -- A not very durable plant, it grows to a height of four meters, has a soft, hollow trunk, large leaves, /24/ and flowers in the form of a bunch of grapes. The seeds are found inside little burrs, like chestnuts; said burrs in some plants open by themselves in the warmth of the sun, while others must be opened or carefully broken with a little hammer or a stone. The name indicates that it is a beautiful plant, but this beauty is in the broad, abundant petiolate leaves. There are several types with reference to
[757] size and quality of seeds; I know five kinds. Castor oil is
[302] extracted from this plant or from its seeds for use as medicine;
we use it in the missions to fuel the lamp of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Chiriguanos mix it with "Achiote" seeds and put the resulting cosmetic on their faces and on their calves down to the feet. In Chiriguano the plant is called "Causiro," and the oil, "Yandi." Even the leaves of the
[759] palma Christi are medicinal, some being hot and others cool;
thus when headache is a result of overexposure to the sun, the leaves of the white spurge are applied; if, on the other hand, it is the result of high humidity, the leaves of the red spurge are applied. The seeds of the dark purple spurge are very small, but contain more oil than others.

[1] [i.e., Nopal trees, -Analyst]

/24 cont./

245 **PAPAYO.** -- This tree is neither native like the palma Christi, nor is it found wild like the latter. It is grown in orchards or in well-fenced fields, grows very fast, and produces fruit one year after being planted. Its trunk is straight, soft, and hollow; some have two or three branches and rise up to four meters high. The fruit is refreshing, yellow, with a smooth skin, of the size and shape of a small melon, even the flavor being somewhat similar, but it is more digestible. Many fruits are bunched around the trunk and are also found here and there at each leaf, but always attached to the trunk. The plants which produce the fruit are the good ones, and they call them "females." There are others which they call "males," but their fruits are useless and are not attached to the trunk, but rather hang from it like streamers. It is useless to pick them. To have a good papayo tree they assert that, in transplanting one, it is necessary to take the precaution of always putting or burying two plants in each hole, one of which will always be a female, and the one which turns out to be male will be pulled out. I do not know if this is true, but I did it this way in January of this year. The fruit contains many seeds which, [157] when ground and drunk in an emulsion, are good for getting rid of worms. The fruit and the tree have a resinous milk. [252] Therefore, in order for the fruit to be good and digestible, it is better to cut off the ends and make about five or six vertical cuts so that this resin may come out; by the next day /illustration appears here/ /25/ it is already very pleasant. It is nevertheless best to take the precaution of letting them begin to ripen on the plant itself; in this condition, uncut, they will last up to six days without going bad; then they can easily be transported great distances.

137 824 [252] [262] **PASSION FLOWER.** -- This is a climber which is found on fences, clothing them in the rainy season with abundant foliage, as does the "supua," whose fruit is edible and good roasted or boiled, as is the leaf. The fruit of the passion flower is of the size of an apple and just as smooth, the skin is thin and the inside is found to be covered with a white, stringy membrane. When this is broken, the seeds of the fruit come

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 43]

245

A Papaya Plant

/25 cont./
137 forth bittersweet and very good. These are ash-colored and
824 pearly and very highly regarded by Chiriguano and whites.
The blossom of the passion flower is purple, forming a garland like a crown of thorns; it has its calyx, five petals and three pistils, for which reason it is called passion flower, and it is certainly worthy of admiration. The Indians call it "Murucuya."

PIÑON. -- A euphorbiaceous plant, this little tree exists
[177] in a cultivated state and was introduced into this Chiriguano region by the white Christians. It grows in orchards and elsewhere, and its maximum height is three meters. Its small
[757] trunk is slender and top heavy, and its fruit consists of black seeds which are not edible but which, when ground and diluted in water, make a powerful purgative and therefore must be used with great care, because they can cause death.

137 SAUCE /willow/. -- It grows and develops on the banks and in the bed of torrents, as well as on the shores of streams, which shows that it seeks damp places, but from these places
[342] the force of a flood often uproots it. The common willow has no special qualities; only its branches are useful in the building of houses because they are flexible, fibrous, and not heavy; little use is made of the trunk. It is a tall, large tree with very tiny leaves. In addition to the common willow there is also the weeping willow, whose branches touch the ground; it is neither native nor found wild; some whites plant it to beautify their interior patios. In Chiriguano the common willow is called "Igüirapucu."

SAÚCO /elder/. -- It is not found everywhere, only being found along streams with little water which are in the wood. It grows to four meters in height, its trunk is slender and soft, its branches have a pith which is easily extracted, and its white flowers in the shape of a parasol are sudorific. The whites do a good deal of searching for this flower /26/ for their illnesses. Even the leaves are medicinal; when drunk in a decoction they are a good purge. What a pity that it is found in such limited areas!

/26 cont./

137 824 SOTO. -- This gigantic tree is found everywhere from the province of Tomina, but there are places where it is more abundant. In the spring, when the budding begins, its leaves are red, and later they turn green. In the autumn its fruit, which the parrots like, are red and are in bunches like cherries. Seen from a distance by a European, he thinks they are cherries. The wood of the soto is strong and does not rot; in dampness or in water it is better than iron, since it does not deteriorate. [342] It is very widely used in the construction of houses, especially when they are of frame construction. A great deal of tannin, which the Europeans use in tanneries, is extracted from the soto. It is called palo cuchi by the whites here and "Urundei" by the Chiriguano.

249 TOBACCO. -- An annual plant which flourishes everywhere, but only the whites cultivate it on a large scale, especially in Sapirangui and Chiquiacá, whose products have some fame. Even an occasional Indian cultivates it for his own use and to give to his friends. There is another similar plant, and, when he lacks real tobacco, the Indian deceives himself with its leaves. The true tobacco is called "peenti" in Chiriguano, and the other "huacapeenti," which, literally explained, means 276 "cow tobacco." In Bolivia there is considerable consumption of tobacco wrapped in paper or maize husks; rarely does one see cigars of pure tobacco, like the Havanas and others; the Chiriguano smokes a lot and acquires the habit at a tender age. [857] Children of four years of age have already begun to smoke; [562] women also smoke.

137 824 [435] TACUARA. -- In the past when there were no cattle, the tacuara, or hollow cane, was very abundant; vestiges still remain of some immense canebrakes, but the plant has been reduced almost to the cultivated one, with the result that what was previously found in the forest at the disposal of the first occupant is found today in the possession of private parties, and anyone who is planning to build a dwelling must pay for hollow cane at the rate of 80 centavos per hundred.and the worst of it is that it is not found everywhere. This lack is made up for by small rods from trees, but these are neither as light nor always

/26 cont./

137 as straight as cane. Beyond Santa Cruz there are still groves;
824 in addition there are groves of another cane called "Bambú,"
which is the best known, and in Chiriguano it is called
[417] "Tacuarembo." It rises to a height of about 15 meters and is
used for making /27/ ladders and scaffolding in construction
249 because it is light and strong. The shoots are tender and contain a sugary substance highly regarded by the Indians; it is not sought much today, because there are abundant plantings of sugar cane, which is of great utility for the production of sugar and alcohol. This last thrives with great ease and little work. Planting is done in two ways, making furrows and burying it or planting cuttings. The former is the better method where the
137 freshets of the rivers do not penetrate. On the slopes and tops
824 of hills which contain water there is another sort of slender
cane, very strong and heavy, which is not hollow like the
other classes and is called caña brava by the whites, and
[285] "Tacuarembo" by the Chiriguano. They use it for weavers'
[513] reeds and for sleeping cots.

TAMARIND. -- This beautiful and useful tree is not native, but it thrives with enough care and grows to a respectable height; the fruit that it produces is abundant, consisting of abundant pods more or less the size of chick-pea pods; the pulp is blackish and pleasant to the taste, but it is bad for
[157] the teeth. It is astringent and is administered as medicine
for intestinal inflammations, especially to children. It is also
[272] a good tonic drink on excessively hot days; it is prepared with
sugar, water, and a little of its pulp. The tree is rather sensitive to cold, and the flowers wilt easily with the south wind. For this reason the whites plant it in their patios, which are surrounded by the living quarters.

TARINGUI. -- The name of this tree is Chiriguano. The taringui is found in some regions, but not in others. It is of the cactus variety, rises up to six meters, its branchage is abundant and close, which gives a fine shade against the blazing rays of the sun. Its branches or leaves are striated and armed with spines; the fruit is tiny, but sweet and otherwise pleasant, and much liked by foxes, who only get it when it falls from the tree. The ulala or opuntia is smaller than the taringui, its leaves have the same form, the color is ash-gray and they are less a abundant, or, more properly, few. The fruit is a smooth berry

/27 cont./
137 which is purple when mature and opens into three sections
824 when ripe. It has an insipid sweetness, but one which both
[262] whites and Chiriguano like. The color is a bright purple, it
is abundant, and in certain years of scarcity it is a resource
for human life in the months of February and March. In
Chiriguano it is called "Ñacagüina." The caraparí is another
cactus, taller than the preceding ones, which also has its
congenial land, /28/ since it is not found everywhere. It is
admirable for its tall, striated leaves or branches, ash-gray
and armed with spines; its fruit is very pleasant and also sought
[342] by foxes. The trunk is soft like that of all cacti; nevertheless
doors are made of this wood and are durable enough. The
[759] pulp of the trunk is used medicinally to cure liver ailments,
etc. They say that it is even good for goiter. There is
another species of cactus which grows to some 20 or 25 centimeters;
it is round and thick, striated and armed with spines.
[524] In Chiriguano it is called "Zipepe." The children, as we shall
see, make wheels by cutting off its spines, and, making it
roll, they use it as targets for their arrows. Finally, there is
another which is trailing and long, covering the ground where
it grows and making the place impenetrable. This has and
[262] produces a very delicious fruit which is called "Tapiacaru" in
Chiriguano.

TILANDSIA. -- This plant is known to the Chiriguano
[342] by the name of "Caraguata guasu." Its special place is the
[283] hills, and among them it has some more congenial to it; it
grows well enough, and its leaves are extraordinarily broad
[492] and long and ash-gray in color; in the middle there is a thick
stalk which rises quite high and is good wood for house rafters;
from the crushed leaves they make cord and from these are
made first-rate halters for tying up animals in the rainy season.
[286] The Toba and even the Chiriguano make a kind of net which
[171] they call chipa or "añapoca," which is very useful, inasmuch
[482] as the women can carry any weight in a bag of that kind; from
[227] the same they make nets so as to be able to fish in the rivers,
and these are pieces of work which would attract attention in
any part of the Old World.

/28 cont./

137 There is another small caraguata which invades wide areas
824 of land, preventing any animal from entering there, because
it has spines on the bottoms of the leaves. In times of scarcity
[262] its root is food for the poor Chiriguano; the root contains a
little starch which has the taste of mandioca, but it requires
[283] great effort to pull it up. The leaf of this tilandsia is also good
for making cord.

Finally, there is a third one which flourishes abundantly
in trees and on the rocks of the hills, but which has no peculiar
properties; it is large because of its leaves, which measure up
to one meter in length. The plant is thick, the leaf fleshy,
and it is used to decorate the streets with arches during processions.
The aloe is similar to the second type of tilandsia,
but aloe leaves are wide and thick, full of juice, while those
of the tilandsia are slender, arched, and dry. The aloe is not
abundant; only an occasional shrub or plant is found.

244 /29/ TOMATO. -- This plant which produces fruits so
pleasant and useful to the culinary art flourishes exuberantly
in these lands; the fruit from each plant is abundant and is
produced the year round when some care is taken to protect the
plant from the cold or from the light frosts which customarily
[237] fall in June and July. To do this it suffices to pile up dry cow
dung in two or three places in the tomato patch and set them
[177] afire. True tomato plants are also found in the woods, but it
is presumed that some bird must have carried the seed to such
places; the tomato is a plant which has been brought into the
Chiriguano country, as is the case with the onion, the sweet
potato, and the cabbage.

222 In the woods there is a kind of tomato in the wild state,
which is somewhat similar in appearance and taste, but which
is quite different from the true one; it is picked green and
allowed to ripen in a room on top of a piece of wood; in a
[244] few days it turns red, which is a sign that it is ripe. The chili
pepper also produces abundantly and with little care; it is a
plant which lasts up to three years if care is taken to prune it,
and the second and third years the fruits are very hot. Another
kind of small, round chili pepper abounds in the woods and
bears spontaneously; it is called arivivi by the whites and
"quii rai" by the Chiriguano. It is hot, and some cure sickness,

222 [257] /29 cont./ It is hot, and some cure sickness, or inflammation of the eyes, with it. Nevertheless, one should not confuse this little plant with another similar one whose fruits lack flavor and which is called by the Chiriguano "Aguara quii," which is to say, literally, chili pepper, of the fox. The best way not to confuse it is to taste the fruit; it is found everywhere.

243 TRIGO /wheat/. -- The Eternal Creator of all things in his bounty and mercy arranged that this small plant, necessary in every aspect, should yield its fruit in every region inhabited by man; thus, in spite of the excessive heat, it is harvested here in abundance, and the farmer is not robbed of his hopes if he takes care to irrigate the field opportunely. Barley also flourishes in irrigated lands, but the cultivation of both has been abandoned for reasons already expounded in these pages and also because birds greatly bother both crops, as also happens in the rice paddies, which will be found empty if they are left to the discretion of our flying friends.

[824] [412] There also thrives together with maize, or in other places, the wheat called Guinea, or sweet sorghum, which the Chiriguano call "Tricu" and which is indigenous; it is sweet, matures with maize, and they suck it, as well as the panicled sorghum, which is a kind of sorghum /30/ without sweetness and used for making brooms for sweeping. The seed of both plants is liked by birds.

137 824 [262] VID /grapevine/. -- Farther on I have said that this plant pre-eminently required for the Sacrifice, like wheat, thrives quite vigorously in this region. I add here that in the woods there is a tree with small leaves and unimportant wood, which rises up to some eight meters above the ground and whose fruit is the size of an olive, has a dark coffee color and a flavor like that of the grape, matures in the month of February, is edible, and is called "Ivaviyu" in Chiriguano. Also in the wild state is the native grape with its twining trunk. Its fruits are like a bunch of grapes; they are white and some even black, and they are good for the manufacture of brandy.

/30 cont./

137 YERBA DEL DIABLO. -- This is the datura which is so
824 abundant in the countryside and fields and which is a real
276 plague. It rises to one meter in height, has branches, broad
leaves, white flowers, and fruit armed with spines which, when dry, are enough to draw blood. The leaves and seeds make one lose one's memory. In this respect I remember one incident when an Indian woman absent-mindedly or out of ignorance covered an olla of hot food with datura leaves; half an hour later she ate it and it gave her a bad headache and a short spell of vertigo. Her little granddaughter, a schoolgirl about six years old, ate some also, and she suffered a complete loss of memory and all her actions were those of a demented person,
[757] a state which lasted some 24 hours. It seems that the Chiriguano
do not know that this plant and its seeds and leaves are poisonous; the latter, dried, are medicinal, alleviate the effects of asthma, and are prescribed for asthmatic Indians. Christians know it by the name of chamico, and the Indians by that of "caazi," that is, painful herb.

137 SAPALLO /squash/. -- There are eleven species of this
824 creeping plant, which I shall discuss in another chapter, only
adding that watermelon and melon also grow here, as well as the cucumber and the beet. The "curugua" and the "curuguami"
[262] of the Chiriguano are plants which are similar to the sapallo,
but they climb trees and produce there an oblong, sweet, and fragrant fruit; when one enters a house, it is immediately evident if there are curugua fruits there; they are edible both green and ripe, but they are preferable in the ripe state.

I shall forgo describing many trees and plants whose
[342] medicinal virtues are known; I shall take up others when deal-
ing with medicines; however, before I forget it, I shall note here at the end of the flora that a region where /31/ there are damp places abounds in secular cedars, whose wood is used in carpentry for doors, windows, tables, etc. So that it may not be subject to rot, it is necessary to get mature plants whose color is light red; the whitish one is attacked by the wood borer; the odor of the wood is narcotic, and this property keeps away insects; its odor is similar to that of the cedar of Lebanon, and for this reason the conquistadors gave the name of cedar to this tree which the Chiriguano call "Igũirane," or stinking stick.

/31 cont./

Fauna

Quadrupeds

*136 *825 In this section I shall concern myself with a description of the quadrupeds, as the title indicates, and then, in the following sections, with other living beings. When dealing with them, I do not intend to make a complete list, so as not to make this little work too long; I shall therefore limit myself to a description of some of them.

AGOUTI-HUTIA. -- It seems that this quadruped rodent is peculiar to South America, but it is certain that it is found in the Chiriguano region, where they call it "Acuti." River banks and large permanent lakes are its most favored locale. [224] When pursued by hunters and dogs, it plunges in and swims under the water, fooling both by coming out on the opposite bank, where it quickly disappears into the woods. Its burrows have several entrances and exits, which are covered with leaves, while only one is left open; it has five toes on its feet; if some dangerous animal enters its burrow by the open door or entrance, it flees through any one of the others which are lightly covered.

Two other classes of agouti, live in the hills, woods, and pampas in this region and are very similar to the true one, but they have neither the same instincts nor the five toes on their feet; they have cloven hooves like lambs and get into planted fields, eat gourds and corn, and even feed on the husks of ulalas and other cacti; they are regarded as the archetype of thieves by the Chiriguano; thus, one compares a man or a woman who is light-fingered with the agouti, saying: "Mbuimonda acutí," thief like an agouti.

ANTA OR DANTA. -- This is the American tapir, unknown in other regions; it is the size of a year-old calf, does not have a hoof, but toes on all four feet, lives in the woods in a totally wild state, /32/ and it is ferocious, becoming enraged if it finds itself pursued. Otherwise it does not attack and feeds on grass and leaves; its meat is flavorful and plentiful. Its hide is tough and for this reason the jaguar is hardly able to slaughter it; it runs slowly, but tramples over everything.

/32 cont./

*136 bending or breaking every bush in its path. It is also a swimmer.
*825 Saddlemakers make from its hide headstalls and reins which
[281] are durable and hence highly valued. When the tapir is very small, it has a pelt like a fawn with yellow stripes and is easily domesticated. It is abundant near rivers and is very rare on the plains; few are found in the province of Acero. In the region of Cuevo and in others there are none at all, doubtless because these places are being settled by another type of man, that is to say, by whites, who can destroy them
[262] easily with the use of gunpowder. The Chiriguano like its meat very much, and they call this animal "Borevi."

ARDILLA /squirrel/. -- A climbing quadruped which looks for its food in the trees which it climbs and goes down very quickly. There are two classes of these, one large and red in color and the other smaller and dark, but both are very graceful, with a rather long tail almost as large as the body as far as the neck and covered with rather long and very soft hair. When they sleep, they cover themselves up and protect themselves from the cold, the dew, and even from the rain with this tail, which they keep horizontally along the length of the body in order to climb and descend more nimbly. They
[262] have very little meat, which is full of gristle, and, despite
[224] the fact that they are quite edible, the Indians hunt them very
[857] little; only the children hunt them for diversion and for practice in the use of the bow.

ARMADILLO. -- This animal, called "Tatu" by the Indians, is abundant. There are six types, which are: "Tatu," the generic name, or the true armadillo; "Taturapúa," balled armadillo; "Tatu rabucu," armadillo with hairs; "Tatu guasu," large armadillo; "Tatu acuti," a species of viscacha; "Anguya tutu," a species of large rat, but also with scales in common
[262] with the armadillo. For the Indians the flesh of all of them
[224] is edible, and the Indians of Yvu and Ibatiqui continually go out hunting them. In dry places, like the pampas of the Gran Chaco, armadillos are more numerous; there they make their burrows under the ground in great lengths, making it dangerous to go on horseback through such places because the animals can sink in easily and at a gallop can break their legs, if they are not unlucky enough to crack their heads open. /Illustration appears here./

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 53]

142
291

Group of Tapiete Indians

4: Nino--52 M-9 (1883-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Tapiete SK13

/33/

#136 #825 The large armadillo is slightly less than one vara long; its burrow corresponds to its size and even more, and not infrequently the wild boar or peccary, when chased by hunters and dogs, finds a safe refuge in these holes. The meat of the large armadillo is not so good for civilized people, but that of the others is; I have eaten it many times. The fat softens the tumors and gristle in it. Armadillos feed on worms. [241] Nevertheless, the true armadillo is harmful to the maize fields when they are newly planted, because it searches out and eats the seeds; it is also very harmful in melon patches, of which it scarcely leaves a slender shred; when it gets into the [224] melons, it does not allow any to ripen. The Indians know well where the armadillo abounds; as soon as they finish planting the maize, on nights with a moon or without it, they go there and, helped by hunting dogs, kill them.

COBAYO /guinea pig/. -- This little animal is numerous and plentiful everywhere. Its places are the fences, where it [262] hides with ease. It is similar to large rats without a tail; [231] its meat is very tasty, and bags in which smokers store tobacco, tinder, and flint are made from its skin. When it sees a hunter [224] or believes that danger is near, it hastens to hide in the thickness of the fences, but when the hunter hides, it is not long in coming out again in search of food, morning and evening, and then it is easy to kill with arrow or shotgun. The Chiriguano call it [231] "Aperea." There is another sort of multicolored guinea pig of the same size as the previous one, but this one is domesticated. The color of the true guinea pig is light brown.

CONEJO /rabbit/. A quadruped in the wild state, native to America. It is the size of a large cat. Its color is a shaded [224] white, and here there are none of any other color, but there [262] are in other parts of South America; its meat is delicious, and the Indians like it and hunt it; its form is the same as that of the domestic rabbit, and in the Chiriguano language it is called "Tapití."

/33 cont./

*136 CIERVO /deer/. -- This is found everywhere and is called
*P25 "Guasu" by the Chiriguano and taruca by the whites; there are even white ones, the females without horns and the males with them; another type is called "huasucaca." Both feed off
[231] grass, and the little ones are pleasing with their hide dappled with light spots; they are easily domesticated while they are still nursing; for food, when they are domesticated, goat's or sheep's milk can be used. The huasucaca is very similar to the deer; both male and female have branched antlers when old, but /34/ their meat is not as good. They travel in herds.
[262] Hunters pursue both types because they have a lot of meat, for
[224] which reason they are called "guasu," which means "large." They hunt them with considerable work and with the help of dogs trained for the purpose, or, if they are hidden, they imitate their bleating or cracking sound, and when they come within bowshot, they do not miss in killing them. The
[286] Chiriguano tan the skin of these animals and make a jacket
[291] from it, which I shall discuss in its place, but today this de luxe Chiriguano garment is disappearing, nor do they tan leather any more; today they use these skins for their beds; it is nevertheless a perfect material for footwear because of its natural softness and smoothness.

*136 GAMO /fallow deer/. -- It seems that this class of animal is from the mountainous and temperate regions; it is not found beyond Monteagudo, nor do the Indians here know it, but it used to be found and still is found in their former territory of Padilla, Tomina, Tarvita, etc. This is the fallow deer, the size of a goat, with cloven hoof, ash-gray in color, and quite a swift runner; it is herbivorous, quite edible, and goes in herds.

GUANACO. -- This is a kind of camel, from which it differs in size and because it does not have a hump. They are found in abundance at the top of the high hills of Potosí and other cold mountains; it thus seems that the hills and the cold must be congenial places and the only ones in which they can prosper. Nevertheless immense herds of this quadruped can be found in the pampas of the Gran Chaco, where the heat is oppressive and where there is nearly always a scarcity of water; it is easily domesticated and in this state is a real llama.

/34 cont./

#136 GATO /cat/. -- There are domestic ones, which are
#825 called "Minta," and there are wild ones, which are of two
kinds. One is called "Baracaya" and is very harmful to
[224] chickens: at night it approaches dwellings in the country and
even in towns, and it beheads any chickens it can; its meat
is delicious and pleasant, and the Indians hunt it. The second
species is called "Eira," or "Yaguarundi," depending on the
locale; it is a species of small jaguar, slightly smaller than
a fox: it has light spots on its pelt, and it runs and climbs
trees very rapidly. It is not dangerous nor does it approach
[224] houses in towns. The Chiriguano hunt it only for the pelt,
which they sell at any price.

#136 JABALI /wild boar/. -- Nothing suits the jabalí better
#825 than forests and the slopes of hills where it is difficult to
224 penetrate. Therefore they multiply in the forests and form
immense herds; the beast is /35/ ferocious. It is a rare occasion when one finds this type of quadruped, so similar to the
[262] domestic pig, in a solitary state. The Indians call it "Taitetu,"
and they like its delicious and pleasant meat, but they almost
never go out alone to hunt it, because it is a fearsome animal
and charges impetuously, and only with the aid of dogs do they
manage to kill some, and then the rest flee, but woe to the
hunter who finds himself alone! The way to save oneself is
to climb a tree which has a good trunk and better roots;
otherwise in their rage and with so many of them they will
tear it to pieces. If the hunter took the precaution of not
abandoning his bow and arrows, he can easily kill all the
jabalí he wants from that somewhat safe and sure place. When
this animal chases the hunter, the dog will stop the chase and
remain at some distance, because, without his master to defend him, he becomes cowardly at the sight of the immense
tusks which sound like a hammer on an anvil.

#136 LEÓN /lion/. -- This is not the majestic beast of Africa,
#825 nor could it here be the king of the beasts. It is the puma,
and the Indians call it "Yaguapinta," or red jaguar, and in
fact it is quite similar to the jaguar in its features, so much
so that there is often a cross between the two animals, resulting in a neuter animal which is more ferocious and rapacious

/35 cont./

*136 than either. I have seen the pelt of one of these crossbreed
*825 animals which did incalculable damage among the cattle and
horses of San Pascual Mission. The lion here is of the size of a
large red dog and will not attack unless pursued, and wounded;
it does damage to the flocks, making depredations until they
are all gone, and it climbs trees when it finds itself pursued.
The Indians kill it with arrows, and a good dog can chase it
away from the flock that it is guarding. The lion has short
hair and a long tail, a large head, and large paws like those
of the jaguar, but it does not have a mane like the African
lion. Its meat is pleasant when put in brine for a few hours;
the hide has no intrinsic value, for which reason they only
[757] hunt it as a harmful animal. The aforesaid hide, however, is
medicinal; when applied on aches of the spine or hips, it cures
or alleviates them.

MOFETA /skunk/. -- This little animal is very pretty in appearance and abounds in certain spots; it gets into hen houses to eat the eggs and, if it can, the chicks as well. The Indian sees nothing whatever attractive about the animal; rather he runs from it, because, in order to defend itself, it throws an extremely malodorous liquid, for which reason all animals flee from it, including the jaguar, and even more logically so does man; it can be smelled at a great distance, and should that liquid touch the clothing of some hapless person, the stench lasts for several days. /36/ Such defense is only used when it sees itself pursued; otherwise it is neither large nor dangerous, and in Chiriguano it is called "Amiane," or stinking animal.

MONKEY. -- The common monkey is called "Machi" in Chiriguano. It is found throughout the region, but it abounds from the left bank of the Rió Grande or Abapó River, where especially in the morning it makes a great deal of noise with its whistles or some similar noise. They go in great numbers and prefer to clamber about on the rocks, where there is an abundance of tilandsia, which in these pages occupies the third place, the pith of which they eat. They do much harm in the maize fields. When the Indians go to their field at the time of choclo, or green ears of maize, before returning to town they

/36 cont./

*136 pick eight or ten ears, remove almost all the husk, leaving a
*825 few leaves on each ear and tying them together like a saddlebag, put them over the shoulder in such a way that they hang down the back and chest, and go on their way. Meanwhile the monkeys have observed it all, come down, perform the same operation, and go back up the trees, or to the rocks, happy and content, to eat the fruit of their accomplishments.

There are four classes of monkeys: black, white, yellow, and red. There is also an orangutan that the Indians call "Caraya," hence the place called Carayagua, cave of caraya or orangutan. Monkey meat is good, but the Chiriguano do not hunt it; they do kill them because they are harmful, and they catch the young alive for pets. The abilities of the monkey are already known.

OSO /bear/. -- There exists in this region the true bear, which the Indians call "Yaguapope" and the whites, jucumari. It has long hair which comes down from its head, covering its face so much that, in order to see well, it raises it with its hands. It is fearsome when irritated; it throws stones and strips branches from trees and uses them as a club; the jaguar can do nothing with this animal, and should it measure its strength and ability against it, it is unlikely that it would get
[224] out alive. It has excellent meat, and the Indians hunt it,
[262] but woe is he who dares to do so alone and whose arrow misses and wounds it slightly, since it will quickly charge and smother its enemy!

PECCARY. -- The peccary, called "Tayasu" by the Chiriguano, is similar to the wild boar /jabalí/; this animal is more fearsome than its fellow-creature and has the same instincts. Both quadrupeds feed off roots, mistol, chañar, algarroba, and such other fruits as there are in the forest; the hides of these animals are easily tanned, but the Indians scarcely even use them for their beds. The jaguar is the constant companion of the female peccary who have young, /37/ because when it can, it quite calmly and patiently catches one, but if it is not careful and the little animal grunts loudly enough to be heard, the mother and the males come to its defense, and if the jaguar values its life, prudence will advise it to climb a strong tree.

/37 cont./

000 to climb a strong tree. The young[1] are quickly domesticated
*136 and more than the domestic pig: they will not go away from
231 the person who was kind to them when they were little. One of these piglets was domesticated by the apprentice musicians of the Parapiti, was with them day and night without bothering them, and when they came out of the music hall to practice marches through the town, the peccary would go along in front of them, making a thousand faces and hopping about to the sound of the instruments.

*136 PORCUPINE. -- This small animal is not numerous, but
*825 it is found. It gets into chicken coops, which are generally located in trees. According to what I have heard, it is not harmful and merely likes the company of the hens at night, but the latter are afraid of it, as they are of any strange animal. Its skin is entirely covered with long, flexible quills, and when it sees itself pursued, it humps up and throws the said quills with so much force that they injure any part of the body. It
[224] is sometimes hunted because of the chickens, but not for eating. The Chiriguano call it "Cūi." If a dog bites it, it gets its mouth full of quills which cause pain.

TAMANDUA /anteater/. -- This is an innocuous wild animal which is easily domesticated. It has a very long, narrow snout, which it introduces into ant hills, and it takes its delicious lunch with its tongue, to which an infinity of ants stick. In the domesticated state it even feeds on milk, but it is painful to watch it sip this liquid drop by drop with its exceedingly slender tongue. Apparently males are unknown in this species of animal, and it seems that all of them belong to the female sex. It is very probable, however, that all the individuals of this species are members of both sexes, despite the fact that only the female sex is apparent in them.

The anteater, or tamandua, is inoffensive and does not
[224] bother the fields: rather it destroys ants. The Indian hunts it
[262] in order to eat it, because for him almost all meat is good, since he says that he is poor and thus avails himself of anything, even poisoned animals and those that have died of hydrophobia.

[1] [i.e., of the peccary.—Analyst]

/37 cont./

*136 *825 [237] [757] Tamandua meat is rather strong; it smells of ants, and they use its hide for their beds. This, that is, the leather, is medicinal when applied to the hips when they ache; it cures quite rapidly. It is called "Tami."

*136 TIGRE /jaguar/. -- Here we have the animal which is the king of the forests in the Chiriguano region /38/ and elsewhere. A fearsome animal because of its strength, speed, and cunning, fearsome because of its fangs and claws, fearsome, in fine, because it will resolutely attack every animal when it is hungry or is pursued and wounded. This king of the forest walks, runs, and leaps, climbs trees, scales cliffs, or crosses rivers, as circumstances dictate, for its own preservation. Wild and domestic animals, small and large, birds and reptiles, and the very fish flee and hide from the sight of this ferocious beast; man himself is often left the victim of its claws and fangs, and one experience is sufficient for it to continue attacking man. If the jaguar starts on calves, generally these are its daily diet; if it tries the meat of the ass, this will be its lunch, its supper, and its everything. Only with the bull, when it pits its strength against this powerful animal, does it always get the worst of it.

When the jaguar takes possession of a region and begins to fell cattle, horses, or burros, it is necessary to kill it or drive it away by pursuit, because it is so bold that it will fearlessly enter corrals near houses and kill the calves that it wants, being content with sucking their blood, but should it not have time for so much, it will pick up the first one and carry it off a short distance and calmly have its way. It seems that this animal knows the dominion it holds over the rest, including man himself. Should one meet it on any road, it does not flee, but calmly continues on its way, and then prudence dictates that the man stop, not be afraid, and speak loudly, and then the animal will go off into the woods; I have had this experience and others the same, but should one not behave in this way and is without weapons and good dogs, he exposes himself to being its victim.

The Indians call it "Yagua," and it is the jaguar of Spanish-speaking people; similar to the panther, it is not the

/38 cont./

*136 true tiger of Africa; nevertheless it seems that both are equal
in ferocity, but not in size and beauty; I have also seen the
[224] African one. In spite of this the hide of the tiger, or jaguar,
is most highly regarded here; there are cattle owners who will
[435] give the killer of a jaguar quite a valuable fat cow. The
ordinary price is from 30 to 40 duros.

224 The Indians kill the jaguar with arrows and with the help
of good dogs, called tigreros; the white Christians have differ-
~~000~~ ent methods, with bullets, strychnine, and traps. To kill by
gunshot, one seeks fresh tracks and shows it to the best dog, who immediately sets off /39/ in pursuit, and the other dogs and the hunters follow the tigrero. If the jaguar climbs some tree, the tigrero dog will not go on until he discovers it; then he will begin to howl like one who is asking for help; the rest of the dogs arrive, the hunters arrive, and, seeing the animal up in the tree, they kill it with one or two shots; if it does not die then, once it is on the ground they finish killing it between hunters and dogs.

But the matter does not always end so easily; there are jaguars which tire out men and dogs by climbing up and down trees, running and stopping to face and kill some careless dog with a blow of his claws, and hiding in thickets where it is dangerous to approach and difficult to shoot at it accurately, and finally by scaling cliffs which are inaccessible to other animals. Thus the day often ends without anything achieved and with the jaguar fiercer than ever; it will stay away from that area for a few days, however, both in order to rest and so that it may avoid another unpleasant and dangerous encounter.

The second method of killing jaguars is with strychnine; the effects of this most powerful poison are well known. To accomplish this end the whites try to find out first where the animal has fresh meat, and there they put poison in the piece that it likes best, taking care not to handle the prey and to erase their tracks. But it is to be noted that some jaguars kill, eat a little bit, and leave the rest; for that reason it is not always certain that the jaguar will be killed by the use of poison. In addition, inasmuch as it has a very strong sense of smell, it is unlikely that it will return to the poisoned meat

/39 cont./

~~000~~ if it senses any danger; fear makes it very circumspect when it has done damage.

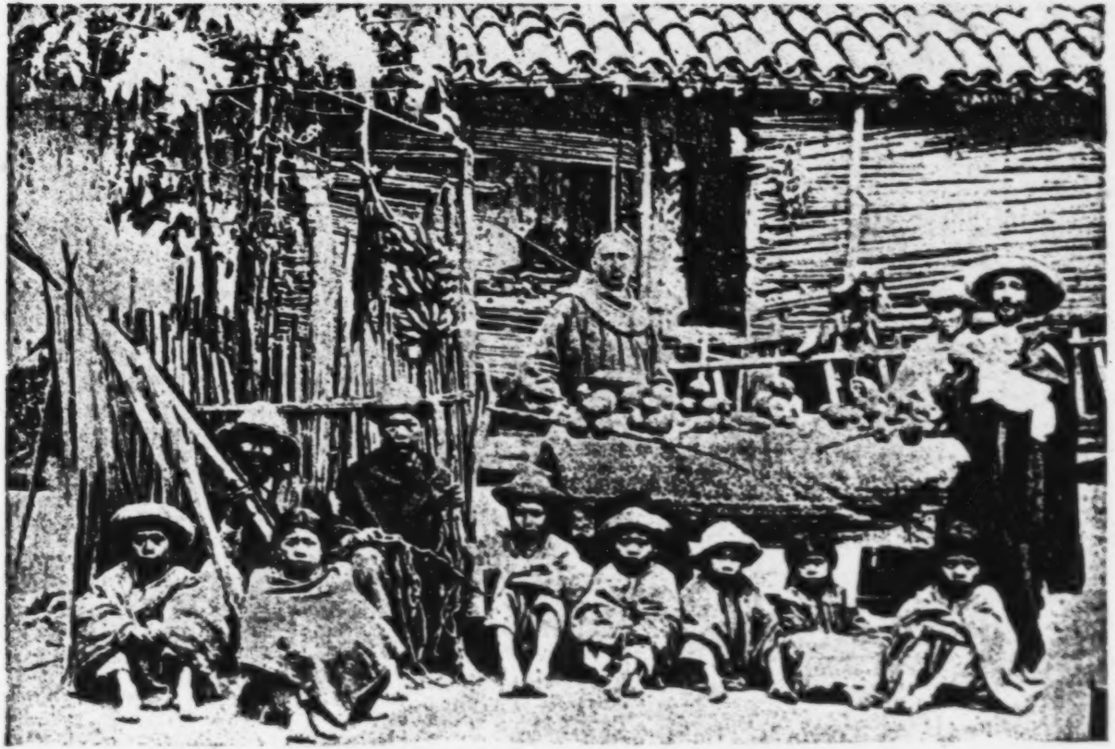
There is a third method of killing a jaguar, with traps. When it takes possession of a place, one must select a spot and a narrow path where it must necessarily pass without being able to go off to the side. Generally a path leading to a slain animal is sought; then at one side of the path a rifle is tied with the barrel pointed at the path. Somewhat ahead of the rifle there is put across the path a taut bejuco which the jaguar will push against to open the way, and at the rifle end a string of bejuco is run to the trigger, or, better, to the hammer, to which it is tied; with the rifle covered with leaves, the jaguar will not pay any attention to the bejuco, because it is accustomed to passing under it. When the beast arrives, unsuspecting, it pushes against the bejuco or cord, which in turn makes the hammer fall, the weapon discharges, and the beast falls mortally wounded, because the bullet enters it at the scapula or /40/ axilla. The bejuco must be placed at the height of the beast's chest; only thus is it infallible; the dogs themselves fall into this trap.

224 Finally, although it is rare, the jaguar can be killed with a dagger. One who has the courage for this does it with all serenity. Once the place where the beast has begun to be harmful is known, he will go in search of it with a poncho, a strong dagger, and a tigrero dog. This last is only necessary to find the place and stop the animal; as soon as this happens, the hunter wraps the poncho around his left arm, tucks in his sleeves and trouser legs, and resolutely approaches with dagger in hand. The jaguar then attacks at once, but the hunter lets it pass to one side, letting the same thing occur on the second and third charges so that it will tire a * [25] little. When it charges for the fourth or fifth time, he meets him head on, sticking his protected arm into the animal's mouth, and with his right hand, armed with the dagger, stabs it to the heart; the only thing that one needs is calm, valor, and dexterity, and anyone who does not have these qualities should not expose himself to the danger of death, nor should he even hunt the jaguar in the company of others, since this

/40 cont./
224 animal is capable of distinguishing between the brave and
*[825] the cowardly, and the latter is the first to be attacked and
consequently to be badly injured.

*825 Jaguar skin, as I have already said, has intrinsic value;
it is used in saddleries for the bottom padding of saddles and
[554] for saddlebags; it is a luxury for persons of rank. The ani-
[281] mal has a quantity of fat, and this is a good remedy for
[757] rheumatism, aching bones, and other ailments; the Indians
[439] take it and sell it in the interior of the Republic and trade it
for used clothing. It is to be noted, however, that they do
falsify it, as they also falsify snake grease, because it can be
understood that the killing of this ferocious animal is not a
[466] frequent thing. Rarely does the Chiriguano hunt the jaguar,
and he is not always inclined to help the white man, but the
latter forces his peons to do so, and they gather the fat and
sell or present it to their friends or relatives. Jaguar meat is
[262] good food, although, to be sure, it smells wild, as does the
skin, but this meat, if placed in salt water or brine overnight,
loses its bad smell; they assert that this meat is like that of a
cow.

*136 The male jaguar is quite large. I measured one, and it
was two meters long from the tail, one meter high, and it
weighed seven arrobas. The female is smaller; I measured
one that had just been killed; from the tail it measured one
meter and ten centimeters, was 75 centimeters high, and
weighed four and a half arrobas. The female gives birth
[231] every three years, and the newborn cubs are always a pair, one
male and one female; the mother is most dangerous when
she has young /illustration appears here/ /41/ and defends
them at any cost, but hunters first kill the mother and then
try to catch the cubs alive; they almost always succeed and
take them home to domesticate them, but this is an im-
possible job because they are jaguars forever; I have seen
two of these cubs well chained but very bad. In general,
cubs when taken away from their mother die in a few days
either through lack of adequate food, which is milk, or also
out of desperation upon finding themselves in the midst of
beings foreign to their nature.



Agricultural Industry of the Missions

797
142
291

4: Nino--63 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/41 cont./

*136 ZORRO /fox/. -- This quadruped is not scarce here among the Chiriguano; it thus seems that it adapts to every climate. It is so intrepid that at night it will go about the towns without betraying its presence to the dogs, but if they do smell it, they pursue it immediately and even kill it, although they may suffer for it, because the dog of the Chiriguano Indian and the fox are equally skinny, but among several of them they achieve their purpose and kill it.

This dauntless beast leaves nothing; it makes its meal off whatever it encounters; it causes considerable damage in the cane fields from the time when the plants begin to become sweet and even pulls up recently planted shoots from their furrows or holes. It slashes watermelons and melons without allowing them to ripen, and as a result of this the farmer often does not taste these gifts. It also does damage in maize fields, but this is an abundant crop and the harm is not felt so much; when it can obtain chickens, it does not fail to provide itself with a good lunch or supper, and to this end it approaches towns and houses in the country by day as well.

There are several classes and sizes of them, but they are smaller, like every animal, than those of the other hemisphere. It is difficult to chase them out of the cane fields, the damage to which will only be reduced by reducing the number of foxes, and this can only be achieved by the use of strychnine or some other poison, which, mixed with small bits of meat, is placed on the various trails that they have opened, causing damage to the sugar-cane plants.

*136 We shall see in the course of these pages that the
*825 Chiriguano used to venerate it as a divinity with the name
776 of "Aguara-Tunpa," or Fox-God, to whom they attributed
178 more power because he was capable of destroying the works
of the true tunpa. Today, when the region has been invaded
[161] and populated by so many whites and foreigners and the
Chiriguano have been reduced to a handful scattered here and
there, those who believe in such humbug are few.

/41 cont./

*136 The Chiriguano hunts and kills the fox as a mischievous
*825 and harmful animal, but he does not eat its meat because
[224] it is very strong and lean; /42/ he does eat it occasionally,
[262] when he finds it to be fat, airing it so that it may lose its bad
odor; it is a common food of the Toba Indians. The children
[857] entertain themselves with this poor animal, catching it alive
and making it fight with the dogs, who kill it slowly.

*136 I here bring to an end this brief resumé of the principal
quadrupeds by size, ferocity, and special characteristics.
I have omitted the description of many because they are found
in other regions, and others because they do not offer anything
unusual for consideration. Rats are plentiful and in some years
invade the towns. There is no lack of female foxes /raposas/,
[231] which are easily domesticated; the ferret is rarely seen and is
very nervous and harmless, but it has the peculiarity of hunting
all the insects in a house.

Reptiles, Amphibians, Fish, and Insects

It is not necessary for me to dwell particularly and extensively on the types of living things indicated at the beginning of this section, because they are found in every region of the world; I shall describe the singular peculiarities of the known ones and the nature of some which are peculiar to this place and to South America.

*825 Almost all the snakes here are poisonous because the place
[825] is very hot, but the most poisonous is the rattlesnake; it
[231] operates rapidly with its fang, and only with immediate
cauterization can he patient free himself of its death-dealing
effects, while the boa, which is thick and long, is harmless,
so much so that some domesticate it and put it into their
cane fields so that it will scare off every harmful beast, even
the fox which, as we have seen, is the animal which does the
most damage to the sugar cane.

/42 cont./

*136 We can count among the amphibians the "Boicururu," or snake toad, which is nothing but the water tarantula, but it is very poisonous here; it is found near lakes in the swamps. Frogs are found in small numbers in the center of the region; [262] they abound where there is water on the banks of rivers; only the Toba and other barbarians eat them; the Chiriguano do not. There is an infinity of "Cururu" toads in terms of size, color, and song, one being distinguished among all of them, the one that the whites call "Rococo" and that is heard continually and loudly at a distance of one kilometer at night in rainy weather and where there is water.

*136 *825 [757] [164] The toad is medicinal; one or two large ones are gently caught alive and, one after the other, applied /43/ to parts of the body affected by erysipelas, which is cured very efficaceously, with the animal being left dead, doubtless because with its cold belly it absorbs all the heat which the sick person has in the said painful parts; more than once I have seen erysipelas cured in this way. In rainy weather there are so many of them that it is impossible to sleep near the place where they gather to sing their discordant tattoo; at the end of a heavy shower is when the noise of the toads is most unbearable.

*136 Fish abound in the large rivers, where there are shad, bagre, and dorado; the latter reach a length of two meters, as I have seen, and are very palatable and drip blood like cow's meat. Then in the same rivers, streams, and permanent lakes, there is an infinity of small "pira" fish, which are good to the taste, and finally there is no lack of eels, "Chorinchi," 43 or the useful leeches, "Evoipe." Indians who live on the banks of rivers of great volume trade in fish; to be sure, they plant fields, but generally they do not harvest because of the lack of rain, but obtain maize in exchange for fish; dried shad tastes like cod and is worth 10 and 20 centavos.

*136 Insects are innumerable, but not as abundant and varied in their form, size, and color as they are in the region of the Beni, the Mojo, and others; they are a hundred times more numerous than all the quadrupeds and birds together; there are bothersome ones, like mosquitoes and zancudos /long-beaked mosquito/, and there are poisonous ones, which, however, rarely cause death.

/43 cont./

*136 There are wasps, and they are of several classes, but the
yellow or red ones are the most vicious; there are bees in the
trees, in the roofs, in the walls, and in the ground, and all
of them make hives in order to make honey and wax, but the
222 best honey is that of the bees called *señoritas*. Both things,
237 that is, honey and wax, are known as beneficial by the Indians,
[461] but they devote themselves to this very little, because they
consider it the work of lowly and poor people, and the
237 Chiriguano does not like to consider himself such. Wax is
464 seldom gathered, even in times of scarcity, nor does the
neophyte or new Christian work at earning his living by
looking for beeswax.

*136 A spider bite almost always produces bad consequences,
*825 which can be avoided by the use of ammonia; this is another
[759] plentiful insect. In the rainy season they extend their webs
from one tree to another, obstructing the road, no matter
how wide it may be, and frequently travelers who are out at
night or who get up early are bothered by these webs, which
stick to their faces and clothing, /44/ just as the spiders themselves,
which are so loathsome, not infrequently catch hold.
The bite of those that live in the forest, they state, is not
poisonous.

All spiders are called "*Yanduti*" in Chiriguano, and the
[859] web, "*Yanduti nupa*," or spider's bed; from the web of the
forest spiders the children make nets for catching birds or
for their games. When wet they are quite elastic. The true
tarantula, which the whites call *apasanca* and the Indians
"*Yanduti huasu*," is quite ugly because of its fuzz, eight legs,
and two arms. The natives state that it is poisonous, but its
bite is not fatal. They almost never come out by twos, but
upon killing one and wanting to know if it has a companion,
it is enough to burn the dead one in order to cause the live
one to come out the moment it smells the odor. The
apasancas, or tarantulas, come out when it is about to rain
and do not make a good impression. The natural enemy of
spiders, including the tarantula, is another flying insect the
size of an acorn, which the people of Santa Cruz call

/44 cont./

*136 "Cavadifunto" and which others assert to be the ninanina; it is
*825 certain that this small creature, which gets into dwellings,
does not go after man, but if it is disturbed and cannot get
away, it bites.

The sight of alacranes /a kind of scorpion/, scorpions, and
centipedes, which are called "Apeusa" in Chiriguano, causes
horror; they are not abundant, but they are found in every
[114] section. Their bite does not seem to be fatal, but one which
stung me in the armpit through my woolen underwear did not
let me sleep for a whole night, in spite of the ammonia which
I took and put on the barely perceptible wound.

*136 Vinchucas /a nocturnal bug like the bedbug/, cockroaches,
and a moth which eats paper are loathsome, especially the
first two, which are numerous in inhabited places, stink,
and dirty all the clothes and the whitewashed walls of build-
ings. The way to kill them is to destroy the proboscis or
long beak, and then they cannot live. They are quite cunning.
In the dark they will first approach a person who is in bed,
give him a prick, and then retire to see if he moves or is
awake. If the person gives no sign of life, they approach and
suck the blood until they are sated. Nevertheless, the
small ones are the most bothersome and can cause fever or
sickness. They multiply naturally, depositing their eggs anywhere,
and the young hatch by themselves. At first the eggs are white,
and when the young are about to come out, they become red.
Cockroaches abound in certain living quarters where they find
food. They even eat the eyebrows and eyelashes of people who
are asleep; they lay their eggs in the walls. If these are white-
washed, they pull off the whiting and cover their little nests
with it, /45/ out of which can come up to 50 little ones, which
soon start to run. The moth only bothers books and papers and is
a nuisance for people who have these. Its color is silvery, and
I do not know the principle of its multiplication. The
vinchucas are black, the cockroaches the color of coffee, and
*[825] none of the three is poisonous. In Chiriguano the vinchuca is
called "Timbucu," or "long nose."

/45 cont./

*136 *825 245 Ants are a constant plague for the fields of maize which they destroy completely when they germinate; they are also a plague for gardens and grapevines, which in certain years wasps and black butterflies also greatly damage; they damage the grape when it is ripening. The latter can only be killed and destroyed by placing honey in bowls, where they die during the night by the thousands. The former are destroyed only by burning, thus destroying the bunches of grapes in which they have lodged. In Chiriguano ants are called "Tasi," and the black butterfly is called "Covocovo."

*136 *825 Locusts and worms do not constitute a constant plague. The former come in certain years, and the latter appear when, in November, there are many white butterflies which place their eggs in the grass. Worms generally travel by night, in the early morning, and in the afternoon, and flying locust from ten o'clock until four or five in the afternoon; wherever its larva goes, the fields are left as though they had been swept. The larva does not retreat, nor does it deviate from its course; it goes eastward and toward the hills, crossing pampas and climbing mountains. If one stops them on their way, they are able to remain for a month in the same spot. Their number can only be reduced by killing them in the ditches; nevertheless, when the maize plants are about 60 centimeters high, the larvae pass under them without doing great damage, and in this case it is best to let them pass and hurry them slightly. With daily struggle one can manage to defend a field against the larvae, even though they may be countless but to defend it against the worm is impossible.

*136 *(825) The locust is white and red; the latter is called "Tucupiona," the former "Tucusti," in Chiriguano. The white one appears *at the end of October or at the beginning of November,* and its passage through a region is not rapid; it will remain for days and weeks *flying* from south to north and vice versa, until it has deposited its eggs, which are put in the ground by the female, assisted by the male. They consist of a little cylinder about three centimeters long which contains up to a hundred eggs. Once the tube is put in the ground, the hole is closed with a yellow humor which comes out of the

/45 cont./

#136 month, and then it goes to another place to repeat the operation. The eggs remain in the ground one month /46/ so that the larvae may hatch; these take three months to reach the state when they can fly. Red locusts have no fixed direction, but fly and stop in the hills and rarely come down to the pampas. Only if the pampas are very extensive will they spend the night there, but always in trees or thickets. Then [164] the Chiriguano gets up very early and puts in provisions for many days, and dysentery immediately appears in the town, carrying many to the grave.

Niguas are abundant where there are pigs and dogs, which they bother constantly. The nigua is a small flea in form and color, but not in its effects. It gets into the skin, causing a slight smarting. It is easy to get it out if its presence is soon noticed, but if it manages to establish its dwelling there and to make a nest, which consists of a small ball of skin, it is difficult to get it out. The nigua causes swelling and discomfort and makes walking impossible when it establishes its domain in one's feet. So that this may not happen, one first raises the skin around the ball with a needle, trying to get it out whole; ashes, especially cigar ashes, are deposited in the cavity which remains, and all danger of becoming immobilized for several days then disappears.

The guaraco is similar to the louse, but larger, and there are some of every size. In Chiriguano they are called #[525] "Guaraco." These insects are also slightly buried in the ground, and they can easily bite one who goes barefoot or in sandals. They are abundant from Yvu to far beyond Santa [14] Cruz de la Sierra. Their bite is not poisonous, but some of them do cause pimples or swellings all over the body, and in others the swelling is in the most immediately affected parts. The first of these effects was noticed in a companion of mine, and he was later cured with five drops of ammonia in water; I had the second effect. It was during a trip, and since I had no ammonia, I cured myself of the swelling, which bothered me all day, with tender plantain leaves and melted grease, which an old woman in Guarani put on me. I spent the night there and woke up with no symptoms and no pain. The Indians chew tobacco and cure themselves easily.

/46 cont./

*136 *825 In the rainy season there is an abundance of glowworms, "Chocopi," beetles, "Ene," and cicadas, "Ñaquina." The first are very luminous and eat both large and small algarrobas. With two or three glowworms under a glass, one can read perfectly, and children light their way with them at night. The second-named announce the change of season, because at that time many of them come out around the light or fire, and the third-named, with their strong and vigorous whistle, sound like the signal for the arrival or departure of a train, or like a whistle /47/ when the workers are to begin or end their work. There are five kinds of these: "Ndi, ñaquina guasu, nancananca, gote, chipitiriru."

*136 Flies, which are not seen in other places, at least in abundance, are here in excess when it is the hot and rainy season. They become very bothersome at the change of the season, invading the kitchen, pantry, and meat markets. Even the cantharis is found, from the powder of which are manufactured the so-called "flies of Milan." Horseflies, "mbutu," are annoying and abundant in the months of February and March, and there is another class of large flies which molest all injured livestock; it deposits its eggs in the wounds, and they turn into loathsome worms, which make the poor animals walk, run, and drag themselves across the ground, and hide themselves as though they were mad. They even deposit the same eggs in the wounds of careless or sleeping men. I have seen and treated several in the nostrils, ears, and even in the throat. If they are not treated in time, death can result, as frequently occurs to the young of livestock.

The moth which damages woolen clothing is found here in abundance, and such clothing should not be left neglected for a long time. Wool is free of this moth only when closed up in cotton covers, and the little animal is chased out of chests and trunks by means of smoking tobacco. Maize and other cereals are molested by another moth called gorgojo, which does not leave maize good for another year, but if it is kept in new storage places with maize husks, is not stirred up and is kept in places with some ventilation, it is not damaged for two years and even longer.

/47 cont./

*136 Crickets abound in the fields and dwellings: they do little damage in the former and a great deal in the latter. Not even silk escapes their tiny mouths, but rather this seems to be the type of clothing or adornment which they most prefer. Sometimes they get into the chests of drawers in the sacristies and do irreparable damage, ruining the best sacred vestments.

*[825] Another insect, which apparently has three names during its life cycle, to wit, polvorín /powder/ at first, colorado /red/ later, and garrapata /tick/ when big, is present in great numbers in the fields, meadows, and woods. It is dangerous in all three stages: it produces a smarting sensation, and if the affected person scratches himself, there then appear lesions which are only cured with difficulty and over a long period of time. Once I had them for three months, in spite of the medicine which I applied to them three times a day. The garrapata is easy to remove at first by pulling it off and trying to see to it that the head does not remain in the skin, but if it is well attached /48/ the affected part is anointed with grease or oil where the tick is attached, and it will come loose of its own accord; otherwise the pain and the trouble last for several months.

There are lizards of every size and color; the smallest ones are inoffensive, although they cause some fear, but they are the most useful because, like toads, they hunt insects in dwellings. In the woods there is a kind of lizard one meter long. It runs very fast; when it sees that it is being hunted and is cornered, it defends itself by biting, but it is not poisonous. [262] It lives in certain places and is hunted by the Indians, who eat it and assert that its flesh is tasty. In the large rivers there is the cayman, a species of crocodile, which is also found in the lakes with permanent water, but rarely. This is a very fearsome and dangerous amphibian, which is difficult to kill because it has very tough scales, but above all because the one shooting is almost at the same level as the animal; the bullet is fired horizontally, and it is natural that it should bounce away. Does this not perhaps also occur when children throw stones across the water? The cayman lives for months on end submerged in the water, and even submerged in the

/48 cont./

136 mud when the lakes dry up. In the water it is not so fearsome as it is near the shores, where it can easily kill any careless animal or person. The female cayman lays rather large and oblong eggs and covers them with dry leaves near the shores of rivers and lakes, but does not seat upon them, caring for them from the water and defending them from aggressors. The young come out of the shell with the heat of the sun, and then the mother leads them to the water, caring for them for a more or less long period. The cayman eats any living and dead thing, but the dead ones make up its ordinary food. It attacks living things when it can, but always from the front; from all that they say about this repugnant amphibian, there seems to be a great deal of exaggeration. Consequently, the little that I have written about it must suffice. It is called (825) "Yacare" in Chiriguano.

Finally, in certain places there is an overabundance of a type of insect very similar to ants. They are white with red (825) heads. Some call them white ants and others land lice, and the Chiriguano, "Cupii." It is evident, nonetheless, that they do not have the instincts of the ant. This insect, which is loathsome even to see, is harmful to buildings and to somewhat soft cedar wood and even to hollow canes; they eat the pith of these two materials, leaving barely a thin outer shell without the slightest damage on the outside. It thus can happen that an owner believes that the roof of his house is in excellent condition, and, when he least expects it, it can fall on him, with the danger of his finding his grave in his own /49/ home or room. The confessionals of some of the churches in our reductions have been left completely destroyed. Where this class of insects exists, there is also a number of toads, and behind them come vipers and snakes, looking for a delicious lunch, even though they may be in a confessional, as happened to me in a certain place.

At times this insect takes over the walls of a building or church, forming there its little cylinders similar to tree branches, which are made of earth taken out of these walls. Others take over the foundations and continually extract earth.

/63 cont./

136 The best remedy in both cases, in order not to damage either one or the other very much, is to leave them in peace and not take away from them the earth that they build with or extract; otherwise, the more one takes away from them the more they extract, often leaving the foundations and walls completely hollow. They say that foundations can be freed of this easily by burning gunpowder there or setting fire to petroleum. From year to year, or perhaps more often, these lice grow wings and fly away, not to return, but the larvae remain in the place.

To close this section I shall say something about three other types of insects, so that my readers may see that there is nothing lacking in the Chiriguano region. I am going to name them, with the leave of any delicate girl or genteel lad who by chance may read these lines. They are the flea, the louse, and the bedbug. The first are only abundant in the cold season, from May to August, when the south wind is strongest; the second are peculiar to dirty people, who kill them by prettily eating them for fun; the last nest in the beds, and the best way of getting rid of them for a long time is to place the infested bed for one or two days in the water of a stream where the current is strong or in a lake.

Birds

136
224 If in the region which I am describing, tame and wild quadrupeds are abundant in town and forest, if there are innumerable insects which annoy man day and night, causing swellings, tumors, and even worse injuries, such as the occasional loss of an eye, if there is no lack of poisonous animals, such as the rattlesnake, if there are delicious and enormous dorados which are gifts to its consumers' stomachs, there is also an infinity of birds of every size, shape, and degree of beauty, which cross through the air, making the cool mornings joyful with their harmonious songs, fluttering above the buildings and resting happily thereon; they play about in the /64/ air, purifying it and providing the Chiriguano, as well as one who is not, exquisite food with their flesh, despite the fact that some of

/50 cont./

#136 [262] them, if they do not destroy the entire field, do make the work of the harvest somewhat lighter. I shall deal briefly with some of them.

#136 #825 ÁGUILA /eagle/. -- The one that is known in this region is not the true or the real eagle; it is similar to it in form, but not in size. There are two types, one black and red and the other ash-gray. It always lives in the country, does not approach towns or country houses, and lives on dead vipers, locusts, crickets, little birds, lizards, and insects; it is not harmful to man or to his belongings, nor does he hunt it, with the result that it lives as it pleases. It is called "Güirapinta" in Chiriguano.

AVESTRUZ /ostrich/. -- The region of the ostriches, which the Chiriguano call "Yandu," begins from Yvu. I have seen them here in the wild state, in Santa Rosa and Igüembre in the domesticated state. Nevertheless, if their region begins in Yvu, where they are abundant, it is in the Gran Chaco, there in the pampas of Carandaiti, where I have seen them as big as a lamb with a ribbon of black around the neck and chest. I have seen them in flocks of 10, 15, and 20, and some of them so tame and so near the road that it was very easy to kill them with a single shot from a shotgun, which, of course, attracted my attention, since on other occasions I have seen them alone, and they ran away like the wind when they heard only a human voice. When I asked for the explanation of this different attitude when they are alone and when they are together, my Chiriguano and other companions of his told me that they only gather together in the months of July and August for the propagation of the species, the same as they gather in fewer numbers in October or November, which indicates that they lay their eggs during two periods not very far apart.

The female ostrich is smaller than the male, her feathers are less colorful, and she does not have a collar like his either. She lays some 20 or 25 eggs in the month of September, which are the equivalent of 240 of those of a hen in weight and substance. Other eggs, in lesser number, are laid in the month of December, but not always, nor by all the females, but only the youngest. I measured and weighed one of these eggs; it

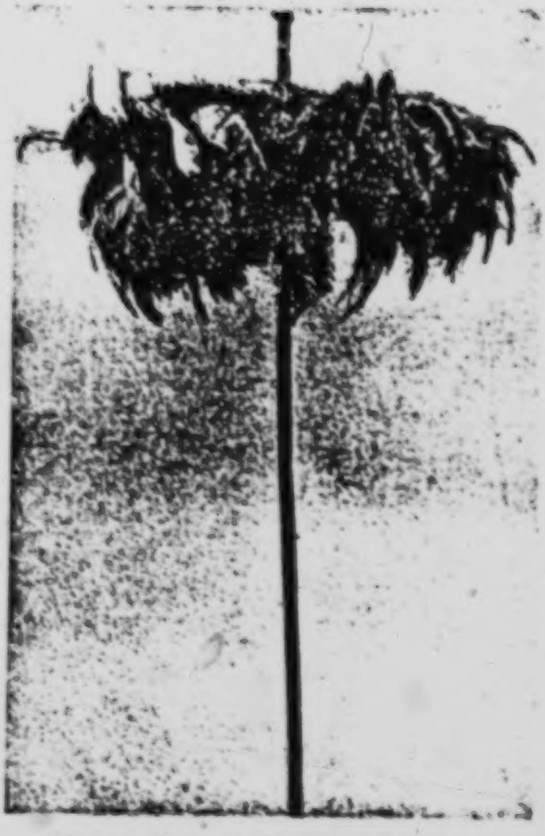
/50 cont./

*136 was 15 centimeters long and 28 and five millimeters in
*825 circumference; its weight was one libra and a half, equiva-
lent to 12 chicken eggs that I also weighed. With one of
these eggs a family of four or five Chiriguano can eat well.
[262] They get these eggs both in times of scarcity and other times
as well.

*136 The nests are found in September and December, and
the male /illustration appears here/ /51/ is the one who sits
on them, especially when two females deposit their 40 or 50
eggs in the same nest. While the male is getting thin on the
nest giving necessary warmth to the eggs, they go off looking
for another male to frolic again as they please in some
*[825] distant pampa. My Indian and all of those whom I asked about
this matter state that it is the custom of all ostriches not to
hatch one to three eggs that they lay; the female at the time when she lays them scratches about, prepares the place where the nest is to be, breaks up the earth with her beak, and covers the two or three reserve eggs with it. When the young begin to come out of the shell, the male breaks the spare eggs, and this attracts flies and other insects on which the newborn feed. How admirable is the Providence of God which has endowed every living being with a special instinct in order to fight for his own preservation!

The ostrich feeds on everything it finds, especially insects, field crops, and grasses; it cleans and refreshes its body with sand or earth which it picks up with its broad beak, runs very rapidly with the assistance of its wings, but never flies, because its wings are small and delicate and its body heavy. To catch or hunt it, dexterity is needed more than valor, because in its mad dashing it always swerves and dodges, especially when danger is near. If its flight were in a straight line and did not have the sudden and quick dodges, a good horse and a pretty good dog would soon catch up with it. This semiflying animal would be the king of birds if it flew. In the domestic state it can be harmful to careless people; it swallows everything it finds, even keys and money, and in a field of beans it will finish them off without letting them ripen. It will destroy everything in a garden. When captured alive in a wild state, it will attack and defend itself with painful pecks.

237
293



Picture of the Yandugua or Parasol

/51 cont./

*136 Its meat is excellent, and I have eaten it on numerous
*825 occasions. The Indians go to hunt the ostrich to prepare for
[262] their bacchanalias; they trade their feathers or keep them,
[232] and with five of them make the "Yandugua," a kind of
[293] parasol of which I shall speak in its place. The fat is a most
[157] efficaceous remedy for the side, rheumatism, and ailments
of the hips in men and animals, for coldness of the members,
and for removing thorns by anointing with it the part opposite
the place where the thorn has penetrated.

BANDURRIA. -- This is a bird which the Indians call "Toté" because this is the sound of its song. It has a long beak, long red legs, red and ash-colored feathers, /52/ and a long neck. It feeds on little worms and insects and is generally found in open fields and banks of rivers and lakes. The meat is like that of guinea fowl, but very tough, although if the outer skin is taken off before boiling or roasting it, it can be cooked easily.

The bandurria resembles the crane somewhat, but it is stationary, abounds everywhere, and is not solitary, but neither do they gather together much. A flock is composed at the most of some 12 or 15, and frequently one finds a single pair. If one of these is caught, its companion will fly away immediately, but will come back two or three times to find out what has happened. In this way it is easy for the hunter to kill both. The bandurria has a highly developed instinct, and when the hunter approaches, it quickly flies. When there are many, they fly like cranes, with one out in front to break the air. They do not fly very high and generally sleep in a hole in the rocks, where it is easy to hunt them after sunset.

BUHO /owl/. -- This is a large nocturnal bird like a condor and whitish in color; there are two kinds, the second is smaller and black, ash-gray with a white collar; the Chiriguano call the first one "Yancuruntu," because when it sings it seems to articulate this word. The female of the Yancuruntu answers "Yaparapiti," which in Spanish means "matemos" /let us kill/, from which the whites are inclined to jump to conclusions and start rumors that the Chiriguano are thinking about an

/52 cont./

*136 uprising, should this pair of owls start to sing on occasion in
*825 a town or near the house of some whites. The second is called "Surumucucu," because its cry sounds like this. Neither of the two is harmful. They are plentiful where there are trees; the first eats bats, toads, and mice, for which reason it is not attractive to the Chiriguano, but it is a very
[223] pretty bird, and its feathers are like the finest velvet. The
[262] second is good food for the Indians, who hunt it on bright moonlit nights.

CARDINAL. -- A little bird the size of a swallow, with a red crest, ash-gray feathers, and a white breast. The region of the cardinals begins in Parapiti Grande; occasionally a pair of them appear in some part of Yvu, and there are also some in the countryside of Carandaiti. I have seen them in both places, as I have also seen flocks of 15 to 20 in Parapiti. It has no peculiarity other than its crest and its song at certain
[439] times of the day. The Chiriguano Indians of Parapiti and some Tapii of Isoso try to catch this little bird alive and take it to the interior of the Republic, to Sucre or Potosí, to sell or trade it /53/ for used clothing; in this sense it is a small, lucrative business.

*136 CARPINTERO or PICAMADEROS /woodpeckers/. -- This
*[825] is a black bird with a fiery red crest, and it is called "Arapatuare" in Chiriguano. When it flies away in fright, it makes a loud noise with its wings, is fast, and flies in a straight line. It is the continual desire of this little creature the size of a rondón to clamber tirelessly about dry and hollow trees, beating on them with its hard beak in order to make come out and to eat the insects that they contain. Sometimes the traveler, upon hearing these noises in the woods, believes that someone is cutting firewood and doing carpentry, or is inclined to believe, from the prolonged rattling of a hollow, dry tree being struck by the woodpeckers, that it is about to fall, if he does not know that it is being pecked by this little bird. Both of these things have happened to me on occasion.
[223] The Chiriguano does not waste time hunting the woodpecker, because it is a semisolitary bird, and scarcely three or four
[857] are found together in one place. Only the children hunt them for fun and in order to learn to be accurate in the handling of bow and arrow.

/53 cont./

*136 CONDOR. -- The condor is the king of the birds here and is called "Guapi" by the Indians. It lives in the highest places in the high hills and comes down to the pampas when it sees or smells the carcass of some decaying animal. It wheels continually through the air at a high altitude, forming great circles in its continual flight, doing this doubtless in order to discover its food by sight or smell, since with this method of flying it not only has the four winds in its face, but also other breezes which may carry the odor of carcasses. It is a proven fact, whatever may be said, that as soon as the putrefaction of a dead animal begins, condors and crows will quickly gather there.

Only where there is carrion will a large number gather, and only then also can the traveler contemplate at a short distance their size, the blackness of their wings and feathers, the whiteness of their breast, and their beautiful collar. There on the height of Ipaguasu hill, on the way to Igüembe, I had the satisfaction of watching for a few minutes some 20 or 30 of these kings of the air, which were the size of calves. How beautiful and how immense! The entire body is white, with the exception of the wings; when the first feathers, which are somewhat rough, are pulled out, there is an extremely fine and soft plumage under them. The skin can be removed whole with this plumage on it, and with ten or less one can make a regular blanket of an extraordinary whiteness and perhaps of a value which could be compared to that of the fur of the chinchilla.

/54/ By what has been said it can be understood that the condor is one of the largest of the birds that exist here; its presence is advantageous for the purification of the air, considering that its food is the carcasses of cattle and other animals, in addition to the fact that its skin is useful, as is the fat, which is an excellent medicine for rheumatism and arthritis. Nevertheless, there are favorite places where they gather in numbers and are a real plague for the livestock; they blind newborn calves separated from the mother which is grazing at a distance, and then they disembowel them. If the calves

/54 cont./

*136 are somewhat grown, the condors have another procedure when the former are far from their mothers; two or three condors together push them toward some precipice, beating them with their wings, and, as they cannot escape, they run from side to side at the edge of the precipice and easily slip and fall into it, where, if they are not killed, they are left unable to run, either because they may have injured their legs or because the place they fell into is too narrow. The birds that did this then come down, as do others that see it, and they strike the animal repeatedly with their cruel wings and beaks and make an excellent lunch or supper of it, returning the next day to finish and to look for other careless calves.

[223] Nobody hunts condors, because they have no charm for either the Indians or the whites; the latter, of course, must defend their cattle when the condor is harmful, the same as is done with the jaguar. It is difficult to kill the latter because of its boldness and ferocity, and it is just as difficult to kill the former, because it will take flight at once, since it knows instinctively when it has done some notable harm. Nevertheless, as the number of cattle is great everywhere, the damage that these two creatures do is not great since it is not done to a single owner.

*136 *825 [262] CHUÑA /South American crane/. -- Some say that this semiflying bird is the "snake hunter," that is, the bird which hunts and feeds on vipers and snakes, but it seems that they are not correct, since the Chiriguano who constantly hunt it to eat its meat insist that its food is not snakes, but other small animals, such as beetles, locusts, crickets, and other insects, from which it can be deduced that the others are in error. The Indians from the right bank of the Parapiti southward call this bird "Sariama," and from the left northward the Indians and whites call it "Socori," as it is called in Guarayos.

*136 The chuña has long red legs, ash-gray feathers, and a crest; it runs across the pampas and low hills a great deal and also flies sometimes, especially when it is pursued. It sings in the morning /55/ and in the evening. They are in every section, but not abundantly; they generally go in the company

/55 cont./

*136 of a mate, and at the most there are three of them. Both sing at the same time. The female begins, and then the male continues, the song thus being prolonged for some four or five minutes. It is a very strange song or cry. They say *[825] that these birds announce the approach of wind or rain, and, if it is cloudy, they foretell the approach of clear or cloudless weather. [223] Hunters who do not have the help of good dogs can only capture this bird with difficulty, because it runs and flies when hard pressed.

GARZA /heron/. -- This is a rather large, but light bird. It has a thick and somewhat long beak, flies little, and its locale is the lakes, ponds, and banks of rivers, where it finds *[825] its food. There are two kinds, one completely white, very white, for which reason the Chiriguano call it "Guiranti," or white bird, and the other is ash-gray and stays in the same places. [223] The Chiriguano do not hunt them, because they have very little meat.

GALLINAZO /buzzard/. -- This is a black bird, and repugnant to the sight, especially because of its bald head and neck; it feeds on the carcasses of dead animals, even a human body, nor does it refuse the chance to rip out the entrails and kill calves, lambs, and newborn suckling pigs, which it finds asleep and at a distance from their mothers. In the first instance it constitutes an excellent purifier of the air by making all the miasmas which come from the carrion disappear, because when there is any they finish it off in a few hours, for when it is abundant many of them gather. The buzzards discover dead animals and cattle killed by the jaguar; there are usually some turkey buzzards over the cattle and sheep corrals, where, despite the cleaning that they do, they sooner or later cause some damage.

[223] [262] The Indian rarely hunts the buzzard, because its meat is tough and strong-smelling. He does, however, kill it oc- *825 casionally as a remedy. The warm blood of this animal is 757 of some use in curing his double chin /papada/, or that of his daughter, who may be ashamed of such a protuberance. For this purpose the blood is placed on a strip of linen and tied around the throat. They state that it does have some effect, but this must have to do with incipient double-chins of a few ounces.

/*55cont.*/
*825 and not those veterans of several arrobas like gourds in the
757 form of saddlebags, which are seen in abundance around
Pozuelos, Piray, San Juan, and Pomabamba.

*136 There is another large bird with the same instincts as the
*825 buzzard, called *carcancho* by the whites and "*Caracara*" by
the Indians. It does not, however, kill calves; it does hunt
and kill little lambs, suckling pigs, and chickens, disregarding
with boldness and dissimulation the brood hen. /*56*/ This
shameless, fearless bird is abundant everywhere and is capable
of getting into kitchens and sticking its beak into the ollas;
but its favorite spot is the corral, where it scratches about,
looks for things, and eats, and like the most natural thing
in the world it will pull out the entrails of a sleeping lamb
or at the least blind it in one eye. The rascal gets into the
nests of smaller birds and steals eggs or kills the young to
eat them. All in all, it is a sad and ugly neighbor, with the
result that all are its enemies, and some birds chase it out of their
nests. Such is the practice of the bird that the Chiriguano
call "*Guirapipasa*"; another called "*Suiriri*" gets on the
shoulders of the *carcancho* and pecks it until it runs long distances.

[757] The Indians assert that *carcancho* fat is an efficacious
remedy for the vision, and that they used it before modern
medicines, which turned out to be more efficaceous and
[262] active, were introduced. They eat its meat if it is fat. The
[237] feathers of the *carcancho* and the buzzard are very strong, and
[411] they put them on the ends of their arrows, so that they will
not turn aside when they are shot and consequently will hit
the mark better.

*136 GOLONDRINA /swallow/. -- The heat is altogether too
[132] much at certain times of the year, with the thermometer in
the shade up to 32° and in the sun up to 60°, but let it not be
believed that this state of heat is the normal thing. There are
months of the year, and in these months there are weeks and
days, in which it is difficult to endure the cold, which is most
intense in June and parts or all of July. As a result of this, the
swallow, even here, is a pilgrim, emigrating at the end of
April and returning at the beginning of October. There are some
entirely black, and there are some with white breasts. The

/56 cont./

*136 latter nest in flat country or in the hollows of cliffs, and the former under the roofs of houses. Both are numerous, as are the rondones, which only come out when it stops raining.

GAVILAN /hawk/. -- This dangerous bird is numerous, and no other bird hunts it because it flies very fast. For *[825] this reason the Chiriguano say that it is the king or president of the birds and call it "Güiraqué"; it does a great deal of damage in the towns, finishing off the chickens, because the former are generally quite free of grasses and fences, and the houses are found nicely lined up around the plaza.

In the houses located in the outskirts, which are surrounded by thickets or fences, the hawk does little or no harm, because the chickens can then hide. Many whites say that planting /illustration appears here/ /57/ a piece of wood about three meters high near the house and placing an olla or other pot on top of it will banish this bird of prey, from which not even the parrot is free.

LECHUZA /small owl/. -- A nocturnal bird that lives in the woods and even takes possession of buildings in which there are bats, which it destroys completely. It is not harmful, but rather is useful, because it even destroys mice. It is the size of a turkey, but has very pretty plumes; some or most of them are like velvet and quite strong, almost equal *[825] to those of the buho. I know only one class of lechuza, which the Indians call "Suinda." It is of no value whatsoever and flies about in its complete freedom; rarely does it approach towns because they do not provide any shelter for such creatures. The only shelter they can find is in churches, where there is stonework.

LOROS /parrots/. -- This region seems to be the land of parrots. There are a great number of them, of different characteristics, sizes, and colors, with long or short tails, blue, green, varicolored, white or whitish, good at learning to talk and to mimic man and animals, or completely useless for this. When the maize begins to ripen and until it is ready for harvest, the flocks of parrots are a real plague; if the farmer is the least bit careless, he cannot count on a crop. The whites, in order to defend their rather larger fields,

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 86]

Vista de un palmar.
Salinas.

Small grove of palmettos in front of the house of Mane Ichazo. -- Salinas.

133
137
4: Nino--85 M-3 (1893-1911) 1919 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/57 cont./

*136 saddle their horses as if they were going out to hunt wild beasts.

*136 *825 Other Christians and Chiriguano also defend their fields from parrots in a different way. They kill two or three dogs, or, lacking these, goats or old sheep, put them in the tops of trees a certain distance apart in the fields, and the parrots will not even come close to them. Let my readers not believe, however, that parrots are afraid of corpses, as some or most people believe around here; what they are running away from are the buzzards, who flutter about their meal or who sit in the said trees, attracted by the bait, for which reason one must take the precaution of placing the bait where the buzzards cannot reach it with their beaks or where it is not easy for them to roost. Thus some become tired and others arrive, the maize ripens, dries, and the parrots will go on their way or go to eat the seed of the soto, which is also abundant at farming time. Nevertheless, most people prefer to have their children in the fields to shout continuously to scare off the parrots or to shoot arrows and throw stones at them. [262] Even the adult Chiriguano engage in this work, because the meat of the parrot is very delicious, in spite of the fact that some are very tough, and they prefer it to any other bird, [223] wild or domesticated. /58/ In order to catch talking parrots alive, they tie up a tame one, and they capture with traps the companions who approach the prisoner.

*136 HORNERO. -- This little bird is called "Tiantía" in Chiriguano. It is red in color and is the size of the gorrión /a Spanish bird some 12 centimeters long from head to tail/. It is tame and not easily frightened, doubtless because nobody chases it. It is called hornero /baker/ because of the structure of its nest. What an admirable thing that so small a bird should make with its beak a true oven in miniature! When it has just rained, the little mason then begins to make its house, but if the rain is late, it flies to the shores of rivers, rapids, or lakes and gathers the necessary material. It is not satisfied with an old house; it wants a new one every year. For this reason certain trees or their branches are full of these ovens.

/58 cont./

#136 For the location of its oven, the little bird selects large secular trees, such as algarobos, *quebrachos*, and *sotos*, but the latter are the ones it prefers. It tries to make sure that the branches are strong and free of small branches. The oven is relatively large. On one side it leaves a high, narrow opening, extending the walls inward up to a certain point, so that when it is windy the rain will not penetrate its nest, which it places behind said wall. Thus its eggs and its young are completely sheltered. The wall of the opening is in the form of a spiral, which takes two turns and a bit more. The mud of the whole house is mixed with the excrement of a horse or burro, and the bed, or true nest, is made out of clean, loose wool.

In these ovens there is a second round, narrow opening to the right of the first, about five centimeters high, perhaps in order to escape from some danger, but it is easier to conjecture that this little window comes into play when some strange animal, for example, the mouse, takes possession of the first turn of the spiral, where the mouse himself will make a third opening to get out on that side. I conjecture this because the ovens which I am describing are not all alike; there are some with one, with two, and with three openings. Other birds, called *tarachis*, nest in the abandoned ovens and often dislodge the owner from its still new house.

MACAGUA. -- An animal or bird which is very common, but which is not numerous. Indians and whites call it by the name which precedes these lines, which makes one suppose that it does not exist in other places or is not known by this name. Its song is monotonous and long in the mornings and evenings, made up of a monosyllabic "*gué gué gué*," and it goes on in this fashion for hours and hours until it is tired. This bird is the size of a large dove, /59/ with whitish feathers on the breast and ash-gray ones above. I am of the opinion that this is the true snake-killer, because it catches snakes alive to eat; the latter are very afraid of it and flee upon seeing or hearing it. The Chiriguano does not eat its meat, [262] with the result that it flies and sings as it pleases.

[59 cont.]

136 **MATICO.** -- This is a very pretty little bird with three colors: yellow, red, and black. The first color predominates. It is easily tamed, but its song is not varied. It is amusing to put it in front of a mirror, especially if it is a male. It will ruffle up, sing vigorously, and charge at its reflected figure, believing it to be its competitor. As far as the right bank of the Parapiti River, beyond the last ridge of the Andes, which is called Aguaragüe, not a single one is seen. They begin to be seen on the left bank precisely at the San Francisco Mission. The San Antonio del Parapiti Mission, located on the same bank, is scarcely 5,400 meters away from the San Francisco one, and nevertheless nobody sees a matico around it. Either it cannot find adequate food there, or the cold of the mornings may be felt more because the mountains are very close. The Chiriguano and Tapii catch the matico alive and take it far away to sell it. [223] [439]

MIRLO /blackbird/. -- This type of bird is not numerous in the region nor is it found everywhere. It likes to stay where there are streams of water so that it can sing to its satisfaction. It is shiny black and somewhat large. It sings strongly and very well after the sun rises and before this heavenly body sets. The clear, loud song of this bird, which can be heard at a great distance, is a delight to the traveler. The whites call it chiguanco.

MURCIÉLAGO /bat/. -- Bats are abundant in the hot season and are very repugnant; they establish their domain in certain buildings with a straw roof or in a similar place, dirtying everything with their droppings and causing true loathing. Churches which have paneled ceilings and which have no screens or gratings in their windows are full of these repugnant animals, and wherever they dwell there is little cleanness. At night they bite every kind of animal and even a sleeping man. There are two types of them, one small and the other large.

/10 cont./

§ 825
773 The Chiriguano Indian has a confused idea about the end of the world, which he calls "ara iyapi," a temporal term. At that time, he says, "andira guasu," a large bat, will appear, will eat us up, and everything will come to an end. The lechuza and the buho are enemies of the bat, and they kill it not just for the sake of killing, but because it is delicious food for them.

§ 136
§ 815 PALOMA /dove/. -- There are four types, to wit: torcaza /wild pigeon/, montaraces, chichitas, and tórtolas /turtledoves/, whose respective names in /SP/ Chiriguano are "picazu, picazuí, piruí, yerutí." The large ones go in flocks which obscure the sun in the season and after the maize harvest in May, June, July, and August. The middle-sized ones are called montaraces, because their regular abode is in the thickets; they too are numerous and perhaps more delicious than the first. They are as sociable as the torcazas, and they fly in very large flocks. The chichitas, which are very small, are much more abundant and delicious; they approach houses and even come into the patios. They look for trees with full tops to sleep in. The last-named, as I have already said, are a kind of turtledove and go in pairs. Their song is very sad.

223 To catch the torcazas the Indian climbs a tree where they roost in numbers and sets and ties one which he has caught alive; he makes a kind of oven with straw, open underneath, and hides there. He carries arrows and waits for the torcazas to come to visit their companion, and, if they do not see the enemy who is hidden there, they are wounded and many fall, until the Indian runs out of arrows. The same thing is done on the ground where they come down to drink.

They kill the montaraces and chichitas at night. Both children and adults go about with torches of fire, the latter blinds them, they fall, and they kill them with clubs. In May and June in certain pampas and low hills, a spectator may think he is witnessing the strategy which Hannibal used against Fabius Maximus, when, in order to make his way through the narrow pass of Casilinum Valley near the Volturnus

/60 cont./

223 River, he tied inflammable material to the horns of 2,000 oxen, lighted it, and drove the oxen up to the heights, thus managing to get through and gain a victory over the Roman army, which, believing the oxen to be enemies running in every direction, abandoned the narrow pass to defend other positions and was defeated the next day. [221] [262] In the above-mentioned months young men and children sleep little at night in order to go hunting for doves and to have a delicious meal the next day with their families, since the slaughter of doves and other little birds which are unfortunate enough to sleep near them is great.

136 PATO /duck/. -- Where there are lakes or ponds there are innumerable ducks of many sizes and colors; some are so large that they seem to be geese. There are black, white, pink, and brown ones; the last are fat and delicious. [262] The Chiriguano eats the meat of the duck, but he does not pursue it, because he finds this so difficult. [223] [224] When he can, he hunts it, but more because this web-footed bird puts or deposits its eggs on the shores of a lake, on top of the grass or hidden among the reeds which grow near lakes; these are /61/ avidly sought by young and old, men and women, because the water is not deep in those places. The duck is called "Ype" in Chiriguano which is, literally in the water, since lake is called "Ypa," or wide or extended water.

PAVA /turkey/. -- They have their favorite places and do not go far from them; they will be found there exactly at sunrise and before nightfall. They reveal themselves when a hunter or anyone else approaches, because they immediately begin to cackle and to fly from tree to tree in fear, which causes a disagreeable noise. The turkeys are as big as a large chicken, with quite a long tail and black feathers. [illegible] There are two kinds: the larger one is called "Yacu" and is found in abundance from the right bank of the stream Cuevo; the others are called charatas by the whites, "Aracua" in Chiriguano. These are numerous from the left bank of the Parapeti River in the province of Lagunillas.

/13 cont./

* 136 [231] Both types are very delicious, but the *charata* is best. *Charatas* are easily domesticated when small. The male is very ferocious in the domesticated state, attacks everybody, even the people of the house. The *charatas* make a great racket before sunrise with their strong and repugnant cackling. Cuevo is some 20 leagues from Parapiti and a little more than two from the Yvu Mission; a *charata* is neither seen nor heard in the former region or in its vicinity, but an occasional pair of them is found in the latter, and as one goes north from this mission toward Parapiti, the number of these birds increase.

* [825] PELICAN. -- This bird is called "*Tangu*" in Chiriguano, because when it sings it seems to be saying, "*Tangé, Tangué, Tangé.*" River banks and lake shores are its locale. There it finds its food. It feeds on newly born toads, which have a little tail, and it also eats small fish. It sleeps in trees and flies perfectly in spite of its size. It flies at a great height, and along its way it sings every so often, and the Indians say that when the pelican sings rain is near. This bird is not numerous; they always go by twos and sometimes threes. [262] Their meat is good to the Chiriguano.

PERDIZ /partridge/. -- This type of bird is not lacking either in the Chiriguano area. Partridges are of three types, each larger than the other. They live in the pampas, in the woods, and in the hills. In the idiom the true partridge is called "*Inambu*," the second, which has a preference for the hills, is called "*Guáico*," and it whistles like muleteers who are driving asses. The third, which is the *codorniz* /quail/, is called /?/ "*Inambu tindi*." There is a fourth large partridge, which is like the first, but red in color, and for this reason is called "*Inambu pinta*," but the *guáico* is the [223] largest of them all. The Indians hunt all of them with the help of dogs trained for this purpose.

PICAFLOR /hummingbird/. -- Many of these birds are seen, but it seems that there is only one species here. These are the smallest ones, and in Chiriguano the *picaflor* is called "*Chiña*." It can hang its nest on any little branch of a tree and also in the straw or hollow cane of the roofs. It is only

*136 /97 cont./ It is only
[859] hunted by children, for whom every little bird is a joy and a pleasure.

There is also a species of oropéndola /oriole/, which makes a very funny nest, conical like a globe, with the wide part open toward the top; it hangs it from tree branches by means of long, slender threads. Sometimes there are many nests in a single tree. Neither vipers nor another, large bird can do any damage in such a shelter.

TORDO /thrush/. -- Thrushes are innumerable everywhere from Monteagudo eastward. They fly in flocks. The males are completely black, blacker than writing ink, and the females a kind of tan. They cause incalculable damage in newly planted fields, scratching up and eating the seeds very dexterously. At the time of sprouting they pull up the tender plants of maize, wheat, barley, and rice; consequently they are a true plague, and the moment the farmer is careless, he will harvest only wind for his labor. Their flesh is good, but the Indians only hunt them because of the damage they do. The thrush, like no other bird, takes singular pleasure in following the cattle grazing tranquilly in the field, and some readers will be able to understand the object and purpose of this singularity.

*[825] This type of thrush, called "Chororochiro" in Chiriguano, sings little and has less grace in its song. But there is another class of thrush which is quite amazing. It is found about nine or ten leagues south of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; it is also black, and the female is black as well. It is frequently domesticated and sings with variety and strength. This little animal is a precious thing and an enchanting one. Nevertheless, in the domestic state every small thing which it finds it comically carries off with its beak and hides; it could well be pounds sterling or quintos. It loves its master and abhors strangers, ruffling itself up and pecking furiously.

439 [435] [191] A thrush of this second species is worth something more than five bolivianos or duros in Santa Cruz, and in Salta or Tucumán it is worth up to 20 nacionales. There are Indians in Parapiti and others who /98/ trade in thrushes. They catch

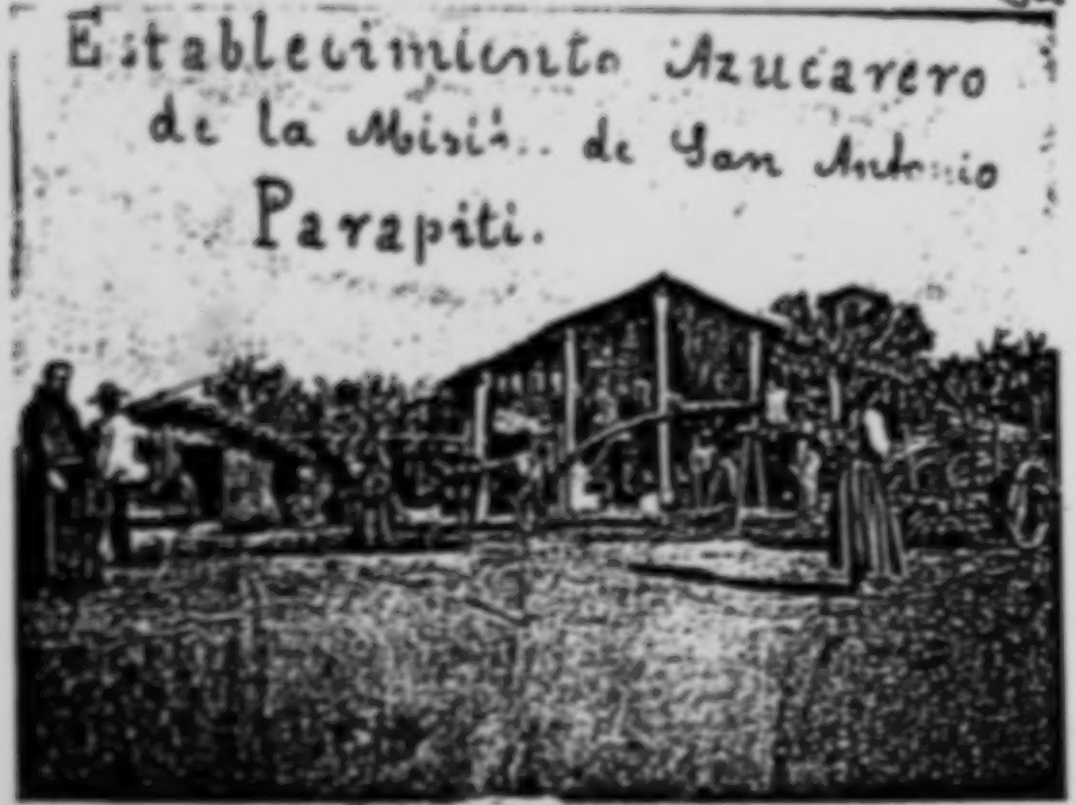
/93 cont./

439 191 them in the area around the place called Sauces, and they take them in cages to the Argentine Republic.

136 TOUCAN. -- A very unusual bird because of its long beak, which is almost as long as its body. This beak is yellow, red, and black, but very light; otherwise, since it is so large, it would be difficult to hold up. One who for the [525] first time sees a toucan, called "*Tuca*" in Chiriguano, thinks that it is carrying an ear of maize in its beak. Toucans go in large flocks and have their favorite places; I know only [157] one variety of them. It is said that the beak, when ground up [725] and taken in water, stops the flow of blood. It seems that the toucan only lives in hot climates. If it is taken to other places, it dies.

URRACA /magpie/. -- This flying creature is rather large and abundant. There are several species of them, [231] differentiated by their plumage. It is easily domesticated, and it is useful in the houses, because it kills all of the bugs or insects which multiply in them, but its size is no larger than that of the toucan. It is as restless and noisy in the houses as it is in the woods.

121 I have put an end to this brief description of the land inhabited by the Chiriguano and what is contained therein. All will understand that I did not attempt to discover and describe minutely each and every one of the plants, each and every one of the quadrupeds, amphibians, and insects, each and every one of the birds, but only those which seemed to me to be of the most importance. If it seems to my readers to be too much, or too little, they will be so kind as to excuse my faults; meanwhile, I am going to begin the real ethnography, which will be somewhat long so that it may be clearer and more pleasant. /94/ /Illustration appears here./


Establecimiento Azucarero
de la Misión de San Antonio
Parapiti.

The San Antonio Mill in Parapiti.

/65/

Chapter Two

000

Origin, Language, Statistics

Introduction

There are many men, even among those who are considered wise, who on the great question of the origin of man pay homage to certain theories which sane reason, good logic, and well-understood science reject as absurd.

The ultimate absurdity in this series of disquisitions is the delirium of Darwin, who would have man, a rational being, originally descend from another being that was irrational, that is, the monkey. /The remainder of p. 65 and the first four paragraphs of p. 66 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 66 follows./

What can properly be called history develops in peoples to the extent that they have advanced along the path of civilization.

Savage tribes cannot have a history in the strict sense of the word, because they lack civilization and the adequate means for obtaining it, principally writing. The latter is doubtless the great lever which has raised peoples from their prostration and ignorance.

173 [8/4] It is certain that the Chiriguano do not have a written history, but they do not lack certain traditions, more or less fabulous, with respect to their origin.

/67/ And as for matters dealing with that history which we could call modern, they do have knowledge of relatively recent epochs, the truth of which cannot be doubted, inasmuch as these historical facts are related to the conquest of these regions by the Spaniards, as will be seen in the following section.

/67 cont./

Origin

212 The Chiriguano tribe has no written language, for which
reason it is difficult to determine exactly its origin, the
place from which it came, and the time the immigration
[829] took place. They admire our modern paper, which they call
"Tunpapire," skin of God, and they say that we are fortunate
because by means of this we are able to make our thoughts
and wishes known to friends and relatives at great distances.
800 What then would they say if they had the faintest idea of the
telegraph and the telephone and so many other modern inventions,
such as that of flying through the air, in this twentieth
century, which quite justly might be called: century of the
globes?

773 They recount that "Aguara Tunpa," Fox-God, tried to
destroy the work of the true God by killing all men. To
achieve this end he made use of the "Iguasu," big water;
he then opened the gates or shores of the seas and flooded
the whole land; the waters of the earth's surface called
those of the sky "Iporu," flood, and thus the human race
perished. But before there took place the total destruction
of the Chiriguano, to whom humanity was confined, a
woman took her two children, a male and a female, put
them in a "Choguáo," big gourd, left them to the mercy
of the waters, and, when these went down, they found
themselves in Paraguay, where they again multiplied (1).

1. The two children, after disembarking, did not perish from the cold, because the "Cururu," toad, took pity on them, bringing them fire in his mouth, for which reason the true Chiriguano never hunts this inoffensive animal.

173 I have said that they do not have writing, but, on the
other hand, they do have a kind of oral tradition, "Miani,"
[55] which is transmitted from father to son. This tradition is
also wrapped in a veil of confusion, however, because they

/67 cont./

173 never name dead persons, with the result that the principal
[551] events are not known because the names of those great persons
who took part in them are not known. The present ones know nothing about the many wars which were waged against the Quechua before the Conquest, after the enthronement of the Inca Yupanqui (1400), and /68/ against the Spaniards during the time of the colonization, the oldest people know little more, and we only know somewhat more through the Spanish historians and missionaries of the various religious orders of Paraguay and Bolivia.

173 Through their oral tradition they assert that their origin
167 was in Paraguay, that they multiplied there, and that when
648 the New World was discovered, because they had killed one
of the Portuguese captains, they feared the revenge of his companions and fled en masse along the shores of the Pilcomayo River until they arrived in the region which they occupy today, displacing other natives who were in possession of these places (1).

1. This must refer to the flight of the 4,000 Carious who joined up with the Chiriguano here.

173 Nevertheless the oldest and most notable because of their
648 authority in this place give the impression that they originally
came from Brazil. They say that in ancient times they had a formidable war with the whites who came from far-off lands; conquered by them because of the inequality in arms and their expertness in the art of war, they were pursued until they entered the plains of the Gran Chaco, which they crossed, com-
726 ing into Paraguay. During the campaign they defended them-
712 selves and built fortifications at several points, of which I
know four: one is in Gutierrez, two in Cuevo Canton, and the fourth in Curuyuqui, which belongs to the San Buenaventura de Yvu Mission, where the uprising and defeat of the Chiriguano in the year 1892 took place (2).

2. I recently explored this last. It is one meter deep and one wide, and goes from the stream of Cuevo from northwest to northeast.

/68 cont./

126 covering an area of about 2,000 meters:
112 it ends in a hill surrounded by the same
foundations. It had its lookout and a
small plaza and dominated the whole area.

172 These fortifications have stone foundations, are made artfully, and are very large: consequently it is not credible that they might have been built by Indians who were even less civilized than the present ones. I believe, rather, that it was the work of the conquistadors, who, following the example of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro, built them for protection from the Chiriguano arrow: the extent of these walls and the height of the lookouts do not suggest anything else. 173 648 The old men add that when they were pursued some of them hid in the mountains out of fear or because they were tired and that these then populated the region (3).

3. This must refer to what Father Cardús
says about the time when the Cruceños
/people of Santa Cruz/ settled at the place
which today is occupied by the city of
Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

174 /69/ From what has been expounded it can be deduced that the Chiriguano race is most probably of Paraguayan origin: the inhabitants of that region also say this to those who annually go to work in the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and to the Indians who in past years went to Corumbá from Yvu, Caipipendi, and Parapiti. For example, they told them that they knew of the existence of a place named Yvu and of another called Parapiti, frequented by their grandparents who had formerly visited their relatives, the Chiriguano. In addition there is a tradition that in a not too distant time many families settled thereabouts traveled from time to time to visit their relatives who lived on the banks of the Paraguay River.

/69 cont./

174 197 In support of the aforesaid is the language, which differs little from Guaraní, spoken in the Republic of Paraguay, in various parts of Brazil, and even in Corrientes, and language is an irrefutable argument for one or more nations, but inasmuch as this language is very reduced in the latter places, and it was general in the former (Paraguay) until a rather recent period, it might well be concluded that the Chiriguano originated in Paraguay.

648 797 This Nation is attempting in our times to enlarge or extend its domain into the territories occupied by the Chiriguano, especially as far as degree 22, where almost all of the missions are located, including those of Parapiti Grande, which are located at 19°58' latitude south of the meridian of Paris. Bolivian diplomacy has powerful arguments to uphold its rights, with the support of the missions, principally those of Parapiti, whose first founding goes back to the eighteenth century. The Franciscan Father Narciso Llamedo built there a moral and a physical edifice, whose vestiges can still be seen today, by authority of the Most Illustrious Archbishop of Chuquisaca and supported by the Royal Audiencia of Charcas. Neither the Chiriguano language nor the invasion of this race gives any right to Paraguay, because all authors and explorers are in agreement that this race did not exist here before the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century the Chiriguano were visited by the Inca Yupanqui with a large force of men from Cuzco. Later, in the sixteenth century, the resident viceroy of Lima vainly attempted to humiliate the pride of this race, and finally everyone sees that the Bolivian Nation has exercised full authority here since before and after the war of Independence, and that the missions have progressed and are progressing in the shadow of the Bolivian flag, which has always waved in these remote lands.

174 Someone might observe and say: Why, when the Chiriguano /70/ emigrated from Paraguay, did they not settle on the banks of the Pilcomayo and on the immense pampas of the Gran Chaco? At first glance this question constitutes a grave embarrassment to one who does not know the race, but it is easy to answer it satisfactorily. All barbarous tribes remain in

/70 cont./

174 idleness and laziness and in indolence and are content with what nature provides for them to live on and subsist; this is the practice of the savages to the north of Santa Cruz, thus the Toba, Mataco, Choriti, and others who do not bother with planting and are content with only hunting, fishing, roots, and wild fruits, which, when they begin to turn yellow, are greeted by the Toba and Mataco with the "Pimpin," a kind of small drum, so that they may majure faster and better.

174 241 311 But the Chiriguano, in spite of being indolent, a recent émigré, like his neighbors, is not so much so as the other tribes, since he joined the Carious. In addition to liking to fish and hunt, he does not fail to make his plantings of maize on a large scale, where he uses his energies in order to profit from his sweat later by converting it into "Atipú," parched maize, "Atiruru," mote or boiled maize, "Aticúi," meal, "Muyape," bread, "Cangüi," or chicha, etc., dishes that the Toba and others know only in the house or larder of the Chiriguano. In order to obtain this class of foodstuffs, the banks of the Pilcomayo were not sufficient for a very large tribe; in addition, the other tribes which were hidden in the woods along that stretch must have devastated their fields, or their owners must have been in a continual state of uneasiness. Neither could they have obtained it on the pampas of the Gran Chaco, because the cooling action of the rains is scarce there, and, moreover, the soil in many places is like an immense sieve because of the holes made by the quiriquinchos /armadillos/, balled armadillos, and others of the species, which nest there and have built their subterranean towns (1).

1. The Toba began to plant maize and beans when they came under the control of the Franciscan fathers at the San Francisco dey Pilcomayo Mission, now Villamontes; today they plant very little.

/70 cont./

174 241 311 Consequently it was very natural that the race which was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gũindaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Yaimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. 174 628 563 What is certain is that the Chiriguano race has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Machareti, Tigũipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

174 167 The places that the Chiriguano selected for their residence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

/71 cont./

174
167
Complete savagery (2).

2. Cayuguari, with some 30 Chiriguano, went to the desert to live among the savages to the east of Carandaiti.

174
175
167
In addition to Chiriguano tradition and the fable of the Aguara-Tunpa, from which we understand that the race with which I am dealing originated in Paraguay, there are ecclesiastical and secular authors who support my opinion. Among the first stand out the Franciscan missionaries Cardús and Martarelli, and the most eminent among them is the Most Reverend Father Corrado, who in his history of the school and missions of Tarija asserts that the most probable opinion is that the Chiriguano came from Paraguay, despite the fact that the Guaraní language is scattered through many parts of Brazil and some parts of the Argentine Republic, since, as we have just finished saying, language is a powerful argument in learning about the origin of a tribe, and it has already been said that Guaraní is generally spoken in Paraguay, so much so that it would not be an error to say /72/ that the Guaraní have gone to Brazil and to Argentina from the same Nation (1).

1. In the chapter "Religion and Beliefs" I shall discuss the fable of Aguara Tunpa more fully.

175
Among the secular authors we have the famous d'Orbigny. According to him, before the discovery of America by the immortal Genoese, the Chiriguano occupied the last ramifications of the Bolivian Andes, lived completely naked, were 080 cannibals, and were of Guaraní origin (2). The Inca Yupanqui

[567]
[266]
2. The Indians of Parapiti told me that the Tapii natives were their slaves, and that in the uprisings of the latter they ate their ringleaders and others.

175
645 /72 cont./ The Inca Yupanqui promoted many wars against the Chiriguano with the intention of conquering them for the Inca civilization, but his efforts [175] were in vain because his army was always conquered by the ferocity of the Chiriguano, who also had in his favor the fact that this was his own land and as a result he knew it well enough to be able to play tricks on the Inca militia with ease.

It seems that the Incas in their insistence on civilizing the Chiriguano brought their armies to the frontier of Cordillera Province. In fact there exists along the top of the range which divides this province from that of Acero and from Sapirangui Canton a fortress of great size, all of it made out of well-set stones, called "Incahuasi," "house of the Inca," and given this name to the whole range, whose elevation to the south was set up by the law of interdepartmental demarcation as the boundary between Santa Cruz and Chuquisaca, when in the year 1896, the law of settlement was negotiated.

[192] Inca-huasi is a compound word of the Quichua /Quechua/ language; the Chiriguano language does not even have a word which resembles it; it is thus very probable that that fort was built by the Quechua and that, inasmuch as the forces were personally directed by the Inca, he should have ordered houses to be built along the whole top of the range, as can still be seen today (3).

> 3. The road from Carapariciito to Monteagudo through Incahuasi is not an old one. Don Octavio Padilla had it opened. *

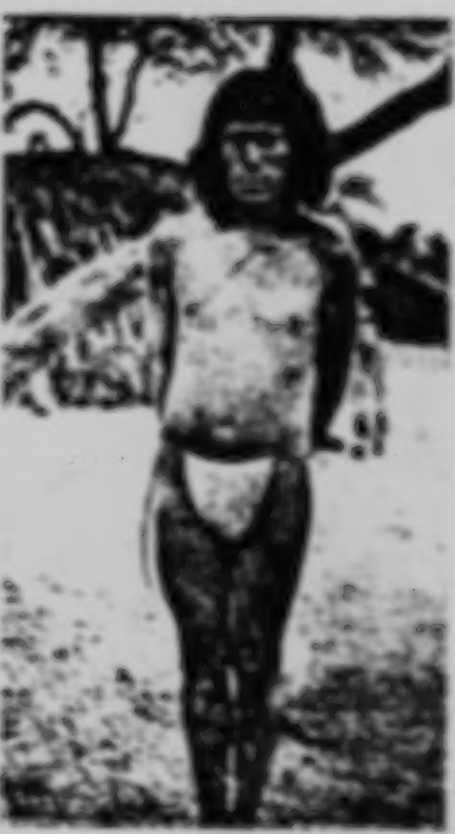
194
195
169 It is also a verified historical fact that after the discovery of Brazil and other regions of South America, 4,000 Indians fled from Paraguay, because in the many wars which they had waged against the Portuguese, they had killed the leader. Fearing general destruction, they came into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo River; in the Gran Chaco they found the region near the cordilleras occupied and inhabited by the ferocious Chiriguano, /illustration appears here/ /73/ but since they could easily make themselves

[Text continues on p. 105]

4t Nino--104 M-3 (1880-1911) 1912 HP10 Chiriguano

Tapiete 5413

142
291
302



Man of the Tapiete race on the Pilcomayo River between Guachalla and Estero de Patiño.

174 /73 cont./

175 167 understood, because they spoke the same language with slight differences, they joined them, and from that moment the number of the Chiriguano was increased (1).

> 1. These 4,000 Indians were not of the Guaraní race; they had gone to settle in Paraguay and had learned that language imperfectly; they were called Carius and had killed Captain García.

The 4,000 Indians who fled from Paraguay because of the continual relations that they had had with the Portuguese had, at the time when they formed an alliance with the Chiriguano, a slight tincture of superficial civilization, just as in Mexico the Indians of Tlascala had learned it from Hernán Cortes and other Spaniards. As a result of this trace of civilization they had begun to use some clothing to cover, in principle, the most delicate part of the body; they had stopped eating the flesh of their enemies and prisoners and were more humanitarian in their dealings.

266 191 Having established their abode and formed a single tribe with the Chiriguano, they introduced their kind and humanitarian customs among their ferocious friends, who softened slightly their haughtiness and pride, imitated their allies in the manner of dress, and began to abandon the barbarous custom of cannibalism, because of which they are distinguished today, and even for a long time before, from the Toba, Mataco, Tapiete, and Sirionó (2).

199

> 2. The Tapiete speak the Chiriguano language with a certain difference, and the Sirionó, it is believed, were ancient Chiriguano, because their language is somewhat similar.

175 161 The Chiriguano, thus united, continued to multiply much more and to extend their dominions into the different departments of the Audiencia, the possession of which they [illegible] now had in lesser degree. Before a century had passed after the

175 648 [131] [161] /73 cont./ Before a century had passed after the discovery of this New World, they were numerous in the area near and beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra. The founders of this departmental city had quite a fight in the year 1575 in order to humble their pride, disperse them, and take charge of the territory; the Chiriguano lived in the areas around Padilla and Tomina, which were founded precisely to contain their advances, since they seemed determined to invade the territory of Chuquisaca itself, whose Audiencia ordered the creation of both settlements so that they might serve as a bulwark and impede successive new advances, new? attacks, and devastations.

The city of Tarija with its territory owes its founding to Don Luis de la Fuente, who was ordered there by the Viceroy, Don Francisco de /74/ Toledo, by decree of January 22, 1574. On that date, Don Luis with his army entered the valley of Tarija in order to put down the audacity of the Chiriguano, who were advancing with their arms into the places conquered by the Spaniards. Don Luis and his soldiers were greatly surprised when they found the said valley full of a great quantity of wild cattle, which was to be a powerful aid to his troops (1).

1. It is believed that the wild cattle found belonged to a certain Zárate, who had been forced to leave his ranch by the Chiriguano, who had doubtless made him their victim.

Before the Spaniards arrived and invaded the country of [727] the Chiriguano, they were the torment of the surrounding tribes, the members of which they shot with arrows, or killed, and took captive, subjecting them to the cruelest slavery. But once the whites arrived, they had to have it out with enemies superior to themselves; fearing that some day they would have to pay for the casualties which they had exacted from those whom they had conquered and whose fertile territory they had taken over, they did not act like the Quechua, who surrendered when they might well have

[i.e., the Chiriguano. -Analyst]

/74 cont./

175 648 wiped out the few soldiers whom Francisco Pizarro led into Cajamarca, overpowering Emperor Atahuallpa by killing 5,000 Indians.

The Chiriguano, better advised than the Quechua and their emperor, formed great armies to combat the invaders, and these were defeated many times by the terrible host; on other occasions they destroyed their fields in order to make them perish from need, and other times they made captives of the women, after having killed the men and other younger males.

175 777 The unequal struggle lasted for centuries, and finally they were conquered little by little by the missionaries. The latter, with only the Cross and preaching, obtained greater victories, because whereas the whites presented themselves to the barbarians with superiority of arms, sowing devastation and making the rivers run with blood, the missionaries presented themselves with humility, sowing the divine seed, and conquered them with the word of the Gospel.

The barbarians recognized the difference between them, and while in the beginning they destroyed the first missions, killing a missionary priest (7), when they understood more perfectly that the priest proposed the conquest of their souls /75/ and the defense of their country, they delivered themselves completely into the hands of the missionary, not in order to be educated as Christians, but in order not to lose their independence. Only through the agency of the missionaries is the vast country which includes a distance of more 8 than 200 leagues from north to south and more than 60 from east to west entirely open today to trade and civilization. The Jesuits were slowly replaced by the Franciscans, who

> 7. The Chiriguano Indians of Ingre Valley set fire to the mission of the Jesuit fathers and plucked from the altar Father Lizardi, who was killed by 17 arrows in the mission plaza, dressed in his sacramental vestments.

/[illegible]/

175 797 founded various missions, and today what is not in the hands of the respective diocesan authority is all in the power of the latter group, who have irrigated this soil with the sweat of their labors for centuries (1).

1. The Jesuit Father Pons made efforts to found missions in the stretch between the Pilcomayo and Parapiti, with whose Indians he began to speak, but he was unable to do anything. This was done in the first half of the seventeenth century.

174 167 There is no doubt about the Paraguayan origin of the Chiriguano nation, as there is some about that of the Guarayo, whose language is the brother of the former's, despite the fact that they do not understand each other well, owing to the great variations which both have undergone. Paraguay is southeast of Bolivia and the region occupied by the Chiriguano tribe northwest of the former, with the Gran Chaco being the extensive region which separates the two republics of Paraguay and Bolivia. The domicile of the Chiriguano in the Gran Chaco is another circumstance which weighs heavily in indicating the Paraguayan origin of the tribe.

All that remains is to know the route which the Chiriguano followed in their migration to Bolivia; it might have been done in a straight line, crossing the Gran Chaco, which distance from the last cordillera west of Parapiti and Charagua to Paraguay is scarcely 100 leagues, but this route offers the insuperable obstacle of lacking the most important element for life, water. This has clearly been demonstrated by the calamities suffered by the various expeditions organized by the Bolivian government for the purpose of opening a straight road to Paraguay by setting out from here (2).

---

2. The explorer Francés Thouar, after having gone over the route opened by the Arana, had to retreat because of lack of water and in a rash slip became lost and, with several others, nearly perished from hunger and thirst.

/73 cont./

196
169

They could have emigrated from their land of residence and followed the course of the Paraguay River on its right bank, arriving at Corumbá, and then across the salt flats of San José, coming to the places which they occupy today, but the stretch is longer, the water to be found is scarce, and over great stretches there is no trace of anything which /74/ might verify their emigration over this route, if indeed they would not have been attacked en route by the numerous nomads thereabouts.

133
134

It is necessary to conclude that they followed the banks of the Pilcomayo River; this rapid stream starts in the interior of the Bolivian Republic, crosses through the entire Chiriguano region, and empties into the Paraguay; its banks from near Aruruby up to Villa Montes is a straight line of more than 50 leagues, all populated by Indians who are clearly Chiriguano. From Villa Montes to Guachalla near the Estero del Padre Patiño there are Chorotí and Tapiete, who, with slight differences, speak the Chiriguano language; this stretch has plenty of water, fish, and fruit and is shorter than the above-mentioned one. Dr. Campos followed the banks of this river in order to arrive in Paraguay; Colonel Rivas, the Frenchman Crevaux, and the Spaniard Ibarreta followed the Pilcomayo River on their expeditions; they failed not through a lack of food or water, but some because they felt sure of the goodness of the Indians, and others because they had a very small force with them. All of these circumstances clearly show that the Chiriguano must have come into Bolivia along the banks of the Pilcomayo; the tribes along the way could not have offered them much difficulty, because their number was extraordinary; hardship on the travel rations was so insignificant that it allowed them to fight with vigor and bravery, and finally their attitude was peaceful (1).

1. Colonel Rivas and the Frenchman Crevaux were killed by the Toba, and Ibarreta by other Indians.

[79 cont.]

When experience showed them that they could settle in the regions which they occupy today because the harvests were certain, they made their homes there and, when invaded, defended the territory at all costs, as has been seen. The region, as was seen in the first chapter, is certainly very fertile; when it is irrigated by rain, it produces every type of cereals, maize [illegible] exuberantly, and the crops are splendid with little labor. If the fields are kept free of weeds with a couple of weeding [illegible] and there is no lack of rain, the Chiriguano can sing all year around the big chicha bowl in the company of his friends.

But if rain is scarce, the crops are generally lost, and then the Chiriguano suffers, digs roots for his food, and sells everything he has, even his trousers and his wife's new tipoy, in order to support his poor family miserably. [131] In times of scarcity the Indian plants with considerable hope a small patch where it is damp, such as around a lake or [illegible] along some streams; plantings of this type are called [illegible], and in fact they are, when roots can scarcely be found. Oh a few green gourd leaves at this time are like syrup in the Chiriguano's mouth! Poor Indian!

Language

By what has already been related it can easily be understood that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní [101] of Paraguay; thus the Chiriguano language is very analogous to Guaraní, as well as the Guarayo language, and it can be stated as a fact that both the Guarayo and the Chiriguano languages have the same relationship to Guaraní as that which exists among the Spanish, French, and Italian languages with respect to the Latin language, which is their mother (1).

[194] [171] 1. The Chiriguano language has very few accented words; in Guaraní they are abundant. For example, "abati," maize,

/?? cont./

197 "Cunumi," ind. do not have an accent
194 on the i in Chiriguano, but they do in
171 Guarani.

197 In past centuries the race, and therefore the language, em-
178 braced a great deal of territory, but today it is greatly
361 reduced, and I can state without danger of error that it is
162 still numerous in Caipipendi, Pipi, Choreti, Tasete, Aratico,
and in the Potosí and Tarija missions; but in the former
places it is scattered among many little towns, while in the
latter it makes up respectable towns of 500, 1,000, and
2,000 souls (2).

2. Choreti Guasu is located on the left bank of the Parapiti in Cordillera Province; it almost forms a single town with Membirai, and between the two of them they have about 110 families.

199 Purity of language is now no longer found in any town
178 or in the missions, in the first because of living among
197 whites and continually emigrating to the Argentine Repub-
997 lic, and in the second, the missions, for a third reason,
instruction in Spanish, which the missionaries give the boys
and girls in the schools; thus, if the race is not finished first,
as is feared, because of the continual epidemics and
vagrancy, the language will soon be lost, and then the few
books that exist will only serve as an historical monument
for posterity, which will be able to recognize the merit and
labor of the missionaries who spread among them, the
Chiriguano, and poured out sweat with the sole purpose of
civilizing them in a Christian way (3).

3. There are a grammar, a Spanish-Chiriguano dictionary, a catechism with its translation, Father Corrado's masterpiece, a small Chiriguano-Spanish "Nene" /"Infant"; the work referred to is Nino's Nene Chiriguano/, and many unpublished sermons.

/78/

Statistics

161 162 [81] The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 25,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Charetí, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

169 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

> 1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 161 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than anything, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers.

464 797 /78 cont./ Today There is already a need for farmers, and everybody is coming to the missions looking for day laborers, muleteers, and herders, cheese-makers, house-builders, etc., etc. How will it be later? (2) The immigration of useful people, not idle people, is necessary, but not in order to destroy the missionary centers, /79/ as is proposed, because this would soon end up by destroying the tribe, but colonizing what is unpopulated. What did the government achieve by the absence of missionaries in Villa Montes? That the Indians will now not work for anyone, and only do so when they are good and ready. All the authority of a delegation was not sufficient to get a few days' work out of its population, and for this reason the previous work was at the point of being completely destroyed; weeds had taken over in the vineyards and gardens which had been so fruitful and so well maintained in the time of the earlier missionaries.

175 464 [161] Now almost all of the great Chiriguano centers have disappeared, and barely the names of the great caciques of some faction or other remain; in all of the cantons the disappearance of the labor force causes astonishment, and [797] [162] service is scarcely to be obtained for fuel. Even the missions are undergoing this decline; in Acero Province there must be some 5,000 souls, in Cordillera some 8,000, in the

2. H. Montero's project, approved by the Commission in the year 1910, may well be approved by Congress, but it seems impossible to me that the caciques will report the Indians who try to go to Argentina. To charge missionary padres to send 25 per cent of the people to the intendancies, where they will receive a daily pay which is lower than what they are paid in their own town, is to drive away the missionary who cannot comply with this obligation every month because the Indians will resist it or run away.

/79 cont./

178 Chaco and O'Connor Province, 5,000, in the Tarija
464 missions there are 4,500, and in those of Potosí, 3,905, which
[797] makes a total of 26,405, including men and women, big
[162] and small, old and young. But of this number there are
scarcely 8,000 day laborers, or strong men fit for any work,
and what is the extent of land in Chiriguano hands through
[131] their own will or that of others? Some 140 leagues from
[465] north to south, more than 40 from east to west; if today
the cultivation of these lands is difficult, tomorrow it will
be impossible; if today it is hard to pay 40 centavos to the
day laborer, tomorrow they will not be found for 80 centavos.

648 There is a great struggle under way between the
Chiriguano and the white; the latter struggles to increase
[167] his fortune and hacienda at any cost and tries to dominate
and does dominate the Chiriguano, as one who is nobler
and more powerful; the former struggles for his existence
as long as he can, but, because he is weak and inferior,
yields to the power of the white; when his spirit has been
broken by the superior force which dominates him like a slave,
he disappears and imperceptibly emigrates to a place where
he is treated with more apparent humanity, though not certain and real, but which the Indian does not recognize (1).

[464] 1. According to references, the day laborer in Argentina earns 25 or 30 nacionales per month, without food, which in a foreign land is expensive for the Chiriguano; nevertheless, since the clothing and the animals which the company sells are not expensive, the day laborers who are economical and not given to drink come back well clothed, bringing a horse or an ass or clothing for his children and wife.

178 From this /30/ it follows that the large towns of former
797 times and the very missions which antedate South American
361 independence have in some cases disappeared entirely and
others are on the point of disappearing.

/80 cont./

797 Because of the intervention of political authority, the present missionaries will fall heir to the same fate, if the law of the department is not changed, because, it seems, they have dropped to the category of agencies of said authority and of all the Christians who are continually coming here in search of hands; and H. Montero's proposal will not only aggravate the situation, but it will leave these regions without workers for agriculture and cattle-raising. 46 648 797 It is certain that labor makes man more moral, but it must be confessed that the Indian is lazy and opposed to working for the whites, whom he considers the usurpers of his lands. They will voluntarily go to work where they are treated with humanity, but where they are allotted the worst food and hard labor, they go with repugnance, despite the suggestions of the missionaries.

The caciques who respect and follow the missionary's orders become tired of continually seeking laborers for the whites, because they are aware of the unwillingness to obey; the result is that sometimes both Indians and caciques hide in the country, and when they get tired of this, they go away from the mission for a long time, leaving their families in misery. The missionaries struggle to gather the dispersed ones together again, but it often happens that the efforts of several months are lost in one night or in a few days. And in spite of the laws that exist in Bolivia, nobody has concerned himself with Chiriguano emigration. 46 Reasons for the disappearance of masons, carpenters, shoemakers, and musicians are not lacking at the present time, since the most important thing is to get apparently luxurious clothing from head to feet, which cannot be obtained here very easily, either because they spend the money on other trifles or because there are no companies which provide all facilities to the laborer (1).

1. Today the whites who mistreat the Chiriguano are few. When a day's pay was fixed at 40 centavos, there was some difficulty, which has now disappeared; the Indian is now earning

/80 cont./

46 well in his own home; he only lacks the facility to procure what the Argentines give him and then he will resign himself to not emigrating.

797 As I have said above, nowadays the principal centers of the tribe have been reduced to the missions. For this reason I judge it appropriate to speak briefly of each of these which exists at the present time, so that the reader /illustration appears here/ /81/ can form some idea, however vague, of the efforts of the Franciscan missionaries, who are the only persons who today spend years and even their whole lives in the midst of privations and infirmities, experiencing solitude and enduring a sad and woeful life, in order to instruct and reduce some Indians who have little appreciation of religious and civil instruction.

The First Missionaries among the Chiriguano and a Precious Discovery

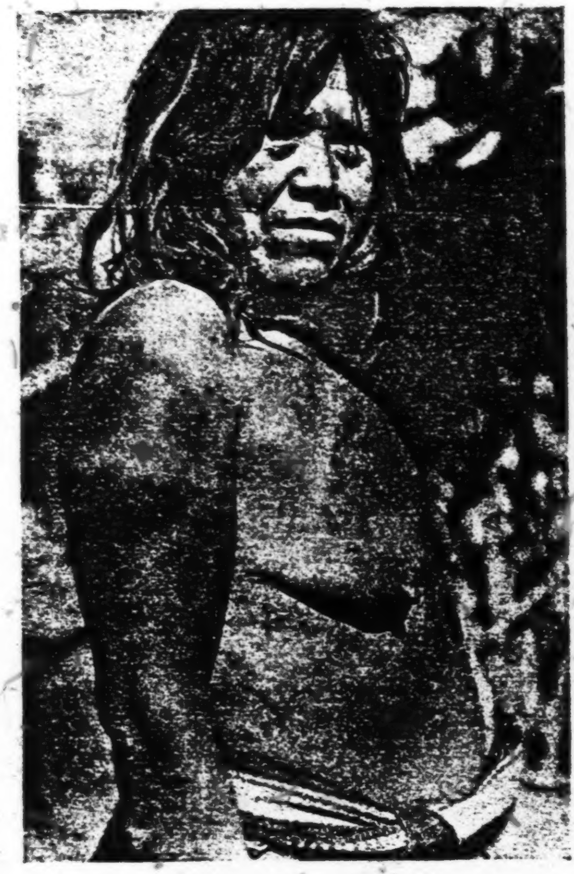
080 The primary end which the seraphic St. Francis of Assisi proposed with the founding of the Order of Minors was the reformation of the customs in the nations of the world and the teaching of the true Religion to the infidels of the Universe. /The remainder of p. 81 and the first paragraph of p. 82 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 82 follows./

797 175 But let us return to the primary object of this section. We have at hand the Crónica de la Provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas, written by the Franciscan Father Diego de Mendoza, O.F.M., in 1665. In his first book, Chapters 13 and 14, may be read in summary what immediately follows.

The first civilized man who entered the region of the Chiriguano to the east of Tarija was Father Simón de San Payo, a priest-cleric, son of Portuguese people, a native of Brazil, and, as such, informed about the language of

[text continues on p. 118]

000



Woman of the Tapui race, Parapiti River, Isoso.

/82 cont./

797 these Indians; he was there for four years. But the arrival of 175 this priest neither can nor should be considered in the sense of missionary, because his motives for going there were very different from the religious instruction of the Chiriguano, with whom he lived in a fashion not at all correct, for which reason the Viceroy Marqués de Monte Claros made him leave.

Nevertheless, the Viceroy, as a good Catholic, was burning with the ardent desire to have the many Chiriguano souls enlightened by the light of the Gospel, and, in order to bring this about, he decided to send to the region the illustrious Sons of Loyola. These, with the fervor which characterizes them, accepted the offer with much pleasure, with the condition that the ill-fated Father Simón de San Payo, who had behaved so badly the first time, should not return there.

But the Indians urgently asked for this clerk, and furthermore none of the Fathers and Brothers of the Company knew the language of the Indians whom they were to catechize. Finally, since the Jesuit Fathers had set the exclusion of that bad priest as a sine qua non condition, the Viceroy stopped insisting in their presence.

Had he perhaps also desisted from carrying on his project of civilizing the Chiriguano? No. He made proposals in the name of His Majesty before the Superior of the Convent of San Francisco de Chuquisaca, and, once the matter was known by the community, 17 religious spontaneously volunteered for such holy work.

From among these volunteers two were selected by royal decree, to wit, Father Agustín Sabio and Father Francisco Gonzalez, with the promise that more religious would be sent as necessity required.

Nonetheless, the Chiriguano Indians insisted that /83/ the Licenciado Simón de San Payo be allowed to come back, because, according to what was found out later from statements by the cacique, this misguided man had made many and various promises to the unfortunate savages.

/83 cont./

797 175 A new hearing was held before the Audiencia; there was opposition against the return of the said priest, but the opposite opinion prevailed, and consequently it was ordered that the missionaries who were dispatched for the civilization of the Chiriguano should take the Licenciado with them, as was done to their great regret and to that of the Franciscan community.

On November 2 of 1609 the three charged with this duty left Chuquisaca, passed through Potosí, where they baptized the first three Chiriguano, passed through Tarija, and arrived at their town, located near the Salinas Valley, on December 22 of the same year.

This first arrival did not correspond to the most noble purposes of our missionaries, both because of the intrigues of the Licenciado and because of the inconstancy and avarice of the barbarians, which we know perfectly well. Even today, despite being completely reduced in the several missions, they reveal the same inconstancy and avarice, which indicates that they have always been the same, not inclined toward the mysteries and practices of our holy Religion.

Nevertheless, the seed left in the field of Salinas by the first missionaries of San Francisco de Chuquisaca did not fall upon completely sterile ground, and it slowly began to yield its fruit, since in later years others entered the same region.

What is surprisingly impressive about this is that there was found in the area of Salinas a large and heavy cross that had been placed in a cave located in the depths of the forest.

This cross rested on three pyramids of medium-sized stones, was made out of a thick piece of quinaquina wood, 15 feet long and two-thirds of a foot in diameter, retained its natural bark, and had in same three spikes of the same wood with their octagonal heads placed in the arms and foot of the said cross; twelve men were needed to move it to the town of La Torre.

/83 cont./

797 175 The cross was found by an Indian who had followed a deer which took refuge in the same cave; it was later moved to Tarija and placed in the church of San Francisco.

[173] None of the Indians could give any certain explanation for this precious relic; nevertheless, tradition from father to son, to grandson, to great-grandson and great-great-grandson, etc., among those Chiriguano states that /84/ in very remote times a man "of considerable height, white of face, with a long beard, with extensive hair, who wore long clothing almost to his feet, with a tunic and square cape or blanket," had walked about with that piece of wood, preaching to them that God had come to the world and that He had died upon another piece of wood like that one, and, seeing that they did not wish to believe him or accept his doctrine, he had withdrawn into that cave, where he stayed for a long time; he had gone away later and left the piece of wood there.

When the Fathers of the Company of Jesus founded missions in Paraguay among the Guaraní, they found a tradition that the Apostle Santo Tomé or Santo Tomás /Saint Thomas/ had been among them, had taught them the religion of Christ, had predicted that this religion would be lost among them, and that in distant times others dressed almost like him and with a cross in their hands would announce the same doctrine to them. The Indians were convinced that the prophecy had come true with the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers.

We know through Christian chronicles and histories that God performs miracles by means of the relics of the saints and the things that have belonged to them or have been used by them. We can consequently lend credence to the coming of an Apostle, or of St. Thomas, first because of the Gospel, "Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae," and, second, because of the tradition among the Guaraní Indians, the Chiriguano, and those of Carabuco in the province of Omasuyos, department of La Paz, where another cross was found, and, thirdly, because of the miracles performed by means of it.

/84 cont./

797 175 We have said that the strength of 12 men was needed to move the cross found among the Chiriguano from the cave to the town of La Torre. Nevertheless, on the occasion of a fire which destroyed the church and a metal chalice, one soldier went into the temple to save the cross from the fire, and he alone took it from among the flames, which scarcely left any signs of the fire on the Holy Wood.

In a quarrel which occurred among some soldiers Francisco del Cerro was gravely injured by a deadly stab wound; neither doctors nor surgeons were present, and meanwhile this soldier was bleeding and was in danger of dying.

In those days they were very faithful, and since they fervently venerated the cross which they had found in the cave, they removed a small part of the Holy Wood, reduced it to powder, /85/ the wounded man drank it in some water, the blood ceased to flow, and within four days he was completely well, without need of any other medicine.

From these and other extraordinary deeds performed by the Holy Wood, we can deduce, still depending on the tradition of the Paraguay Indians, that it was quite probable that one of the Apostles of Christ came to preach the faith in this part of the world and even probable that this Apostle might have been St. Thomas, because the description given by the Guaraní and Chiriguano Indians corresponds to that of the same Apostle told to us in the ecclesiastical histories.

Missions of the Colegio de Potosí (1)

[361] 1. The departm[illegible] of Potosí does not have any Chiriguano Indians, and thus the Franciscans of that Colegio /school/ could not have catechized them by establishing missions, but by previous agreement with the missionaries of Sucre and permission of the government and diocesan authority, they came into possession of their territory.

/85 cont./

797 San Antonio del Parapiti Grande. -- This mission was founded on April 25 of 1903, in spite of the violent struggle against it made by the whites of the region through the press and even by actions, when on August 30 of this same year a stubborn corregidor at the head of 25 or 30 armed militiamen, almost all of them taken by force, tried to dislodge the missionary, who remained firm, without, however, putting up the slightest resistance or making any actual defense against such an attack. This settlement has continued to advance and to make material progress. It numbers 1,479 souls; the town is located on an immense plain, and the buildings -- the mission -- on a small hill; the elevation of the town above sea level is 580 meters -- meridian from Paris, 19° 58' south latitude, 60° 32' 45" west longitude (2).

080 Here is how I described its panorama in the year 1908: It is an enchanting location, and anyone who comes here for the first time is ecstatic; he first sees the beaches and the Parapiti River, whose capricious course is admirable and whose waters are the plaything of the south and north winds, which make it change its direction whenever it suits their fancy. This immense beach, with the waters usually in the middle, looks like certain regional maps of the world, where /86/ centers of population have been engraved in the middle and immense deserts at the sides, and the painting grows when it is observed from the mission house among the branches of the leafy woods on the left edge.

2. This mission, founded by Father Francisco del Pilar, was organized by Father Narciso Llamedo; destroyed by the patriots, it was again founded in the year 1871 and abandoned in 1880 because of persecutions. It has been reorganized.

/86 cont./

000 Next, the ecstatic visitor admires in the distance an immense savanna, that incalculable bluish-green carpet which seems to have been rolled out flat; it extends for leagues and leagues, giving a perfect impression of the sea; secular and gigantic trees, the algarrobas and quebrachos, which stand out, besides the other lesser trees which are present in abundance and which look like the waves of the stormy Pacific when they are agitated by the winds. Finally, the picture is made more interesting by the clear and cloudless mornings, as they almost always are, which offer a picturesque and otherwise enchanting perspective and panorama.

The smiling aurora is accompanied by the beneficent zephyr produced by the nearness of the river, which, with its gentle breezes, refreshes very early the heated atmosphere, and an abundant dew is sprinkled like diminutive pearls upon the leaves. Then there appear in the distance among the branches and the foliage the first luminous red clouds which announce the nearness of the great star, king of the universe, who seems to be rising unwillingly from his fluffy bed, finally letting his majesty be seen above the horizon. As he continues on his course, he becomes larger, and behind the woods is displayed that globe of fire, it being possible to look at it without its ardent rays damaging the vision of one who looks at it (1).

1. "Continuación de la Historia de las Misiones de Postosí," by Father Bernardino de Nino, p. 32.

797 2. San Francisco Solano del Parapiti Grande. -- This second mission of the great Parapiti was united with the aforementioned one up to October of the year 1908, and its residents depended on the same conversor /literally "converter"/ in both material and spiritual matters, especially in cases of grave illness. Since the first of November of that year two missionaries have resided there to do everything possible to advance spiritual matters; this date then may be regarded as the real and true date of its founding,

/86 cont./

797 and since it is a work of God, it is hoped that it will progress despite the lack of effort and the little willingness on the part of Indians in following the example of their neighbors.

Little by little, they will come to understand the spiritual good which is intended for them, /87/, because boys and girls are now being gathered together for instruction and, God grant, their number will increase with time! At the beginning the missionary lived in an ancient building left from the year 1871, and the tiny church is also ancient, but a new house has been built with a sala and two cells for dormitories. This new establishment is at present composed of some 300 souls, but it may grow, because there are many Indians in the forest and outside of the mission.

Its climate is satisfactory; its panorama offers little to see, because the town and the mission house are standing on a plain. It could be dominant only on a height, but, on the other hand, its location is convenient because of having the water of the river quite near, and it would not require much work to bring it close to it by means of a wide ditch. The town is at a height of 545 meters above sea level, 5,490 meters in distance from San Antonio, and the geographical difference is minimal (1).

> 1. Before Independence it was united with the previously mentioned one; in 1871 it was separated off, as it is at present.

2. San Buenaventura de Yvu. -- It is about 18 leagues from the above and was founded on May 3, 1893, after the end of the Curuyuqui war, in which the Indians were completely defeated at the end of January, 1892. At the present time it has 119 families and a population of 652 souls, while at the end of the last century its inhabitants exceeded a thousand. Near the mission house, at approximately 100 meters more or less, there is a hill with a surface of about half a league, which has small springs of rich and crystalline water, from which comes the name "Yvu," "water's eye" /hojo de agua/;

/87 cont./

797 the climate is very healthy, but the lack of food is continual, and they must often eat the roots of the serpentine arum, or mangara, bitter and poisonous before it is cooked (7).

> 7. Flora Crucella of R. Pella. The fire makes it lose the poisonous part, but not all of the bitterness.

The buildings are constructed on a level site located on a small rise. The panorama which runs from north to northeast is [133] extensive and pleasant: there in the distance can be seen the hills of Taremacua and the cordillera of Ururigua, through which Nature opened a gateway to give passage to the waters of the Parapiti River, which fearlessly and with great boldness hurls itself from a great height, forming by its imposing waterfall a lake of white foam, like a boll of wild cotton, and then following its rapid course through San Antonio, Mariqui, Cumbarúi, and Iñao, /88/ where it is completely lost. Still farther beyond, to [139] the north and northwest, in the midst of a thick forest of quebrachos, [133] thickets, and secular algarrobas, are seen the tops of the ranges of Salinas and Timboirenta and something of Incahuasi, and at a short distance from the town is seen a round hill called "Tunpa repoti," the Chiriguano history and meaning of which I am not ignorant, and in front of the mission house, at the distance of half a league, are the pampas of Curuyuqui located among algarrobas and other trees; up to here the panorama of Yvu is similar to that of green Umbria of the kingdom of Italy. The [139] picture is dismal to the west and south, because the heart is oppressed by a consideration of the sands of the desert, however, much the springs of the west suggest the ancient and capricious fountains of the temples of Arcadia. Nevertheless, in the rainy season the hills and the plains garb themselves with fresh grass and wild flowers, lending to the nearby horizon a pleasant and varied appearance. The town is located at 770 meters above sea level, and at 20° 44' 35" south latitude, and 65° 50' 7" longitude west of the meridian of Paris, according to what is recorded in the

/83 cont./

797 "Historia de las Misiones" (1).

> 1. The whites call this place "Ibo," giving rise to the Cuevo-Ibo question debated so much in the legislative chambers. The jurisdiction of Cuevo today extends from the Irenta range to that of Aguaragüe from west to east and in the north continues to the Parapiti River; Camatindi and Tacuaranti ought to belong to Ñancaroinza, just as Itatiqui, Ipitacuapi, and Caimbeti, as far as the Parapiti River, should belong to the Carandaiti canton.

4. Santa Rosa de Cuevo. -- This mission was founded in the year 1887. Fifteen kilometers separate it from the previous one by an entirely level road, and today it has a population of 1,338 inhabitants, while at the time of its founding or a few years later its population reached 2,115, as is stated in the Historia of Father Angélico Martarelli (2).

[648]

> 2. During the Chiriguano uprising of 1892 the mission was the saving refuge of all the inhabitants of the Cuevo canton, and during the campaign it was made the headquarters. Colonel Frías, Colonel Chavarría, and General Gonzalez, with their respective troops, and many other militiamen, with their leaders, were there.

Its buildings, located on a very prominent hill, have the appearance of a fortress from whatever direction they are observed; when they are considered in terms of their solidity, beauty, and topographic level, it is difficult to find others like them in these parts. Its panorama is delightful; /illustration appears here/ /89/ it is surrounded by fields and hills very beautiful to the eye and pleasing to the heart, just as its inhabitants who breathe that perfumed air are pleasing. In the distance the hills of Aguaragüe to the east, those of Irenta and

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 128]

F992
346
133

View of the Santa Rosa Mission

/8. cont./

797 Saararenta to the west and southwest, and those of Salinas to the north make its location harmonious. Its land is extremely fertile when it is irrigated by abundant rains, and in its fields there is no lack of water needed for the livestock, despite the scarcity and saltiness of the little that comes down by way of the stream of Irenta, from which the missionaries and settlers supply themselves and drink.

With the opening of this mission, there then disappeared the fear which had previously held sway among the travelers who had passed through these regions with distrust, because the numerous Chiriguano, together with the Toba, inspired terror in times not long past, so much so that, in order to found the missions of Pacapiti Grande, Father Francisco Solano in the year 1870 had to make a wide swing by way of the Tarija missions and lengthen his voyage by more than 35 leagues. Today this is the route of the traders to Santa Cruz and Tarija; in this sense, too, the Republic has greatly benefited; it is one more town, quite advanced in every sense, in which the official language is making rapid progress. Its elevation above sea level is 855 meters (1).

(1) It is located at 20° 38' latitude south of the meridian of Paris and 65° 42' west longitude.

9. San Pascual de Boicovo. -- This mission of Boicovo (butterfly serpent) was founded in the year 1875, 12 years before that of Santa Rosa, from which it is separated by the cordillera of Saararenta by a distance of 45 kilometers to the southwest, being at a height of 765 meters above sea level. It has a population of 300 or more souls, while at the beginning it had 1,210, according to the history of the missions. There are few infidels, and few also are those who do not speak the Spanish language; among the Christians, rare is the neophyte who does not know how to express himself in it and infants drink it with their milk. Oh, the prodigy of the Catholic religion! This is not seen where missionaries do not reside.

/89 cont./

777 The mission building is located on quite a high hill; it has a beautiful church, too large for the few settlers; the town has very little ventilation, for which reason contagious diseases do great damage. The smallpox of 1880 carried off more than 300 souls, that of 1894, 100, and that of 1895, 45, because the majority had been saved in the /90/ previous years, and yet the black vomit, or yellow fever, carried off 50 victims. The site occupied by the mission has no panorama because of the ranges to the east and west that are a few meters away. It is a mousehole, embellished with the mission building, houses constructed with some skill, and abundant fruit trees; it has little land of any value for agriculture and livestock, because it is completely wooded, but more than enough for the few settlers (1).

> 1. This mission was founded as the result of a bloody war which its settlers, together with the Toba and Chiriguano of Cuevo and Yvu, waged against the whites of Igüembe in the year 1874 to 1875.

7. Igüembe, Huacaya, Ingre, and Cuevo. -- In addition to the missions already described, the towns whose names head up this small section were founded by the Franciscan missionaries of the Colegio de Potosí. Their beginnings date from the years 1870, 1875, 1881, and 1887, respectively, and they continue to be cared for by the missionaries of Potosí, except for Ingre, ceded to those of the Colegio de Sucre in the year 1904.

Their settlers are all of the white race, having come from the departments of Tarija, Santa Cruz, Sucre, and Cochabamba. At the beginning they assisted the missionaries in the conquest of the souls and civilization of the Chiriguano, there being particularly distinguished in this regard the inhabitants of Huacaya and Igüembe, from which came the missionaries for the Christianization of the Indians of Boicovo.

/Nugent./
Cuevo, Ivo, and Parapiti. Today these regions are populated by whites, and this evidently proves that the Cross of the Redeemer, planted by the missionary and watered by his sweat, is more powerful than the cannons of the kings, which could not make the Chiriguano surrender prior to South American independence (7).

7. The whites who assisted the missionaries in Boicovo and in Parapiti received from the Supreme Government an allotment of land half a league square.

7. San José de Ñumbía. -- The territory of the mission to be founded is located on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River at 22° latitude and 64° 30' longitude west of the meridian of Paris, 16 leagues from San Pascual de Boicovo and from Igüembe, in whose canton it is located. Anyone who might like to know the particulars of the events concerning the founding of this mission should read my little work, "La continuación de la Historia," etc., p. 164.

/91/ The site is beautiful, located on the banks of a great river with an abundance of fish of all colors and sizes; five small towns must be joined in order to found the mission, which could be done, were times different, because the Indians are like the other Chiriguano. The missionaries of Potosí did everything necessary for the founding of the mission up to taking possession of the land and getting approval of the titles, which were handed over to the missionaries of Sucre, together with the chaplaincy of N. S. del Rosario del Ingre /Our Lady of the Rosary of Ingre/ (1).

1. The missionaries of Sucre were prepared to found the mission at the end of the year 1905, when the Supreme Court decided that the opposition of Loma should be handled in the ordinary tribunals; thus it has remained.

/95 cont./

Cuevo

361 175 [103] The town of Cuevo is located on the left bank of the torrent or stream of the same name. Before the war of the year 1875, and even later, it was known by the Chiriguano who lived there as Ñumbicito, which means "halfway field," and in fact it occupies a beautiful level place located almost midway between the ranges to the west and those to the east.

Almost all of the first white inhabitants were from the department of Santa Cruz, and it is an undeniable fact that Colonel Víctor Antezana moved to the region of Cuevo-Ibo with some militiamen from Lagunillas and built a fortress where the public cemetery of Cuevo is today, and another one where the church of San Buenaventura of the mission of Ivo has been built, both works which are owed to the constancy and activity of the Franciscan missionaries of the Villa Imperial. The fortresses are later than 1875.

[illegible] [648] Subsequently, the town was formed under the protection of the missionaries themselves and around the Cross of the Savior; it was completely burned by the Indians in the uprising of Curuyuqui in 1892, but the inhabitants of Cuevo who did not perish, with the assistance of the flourishing mission of Santa Rosa, built anew and in better condition the new town, which continues to progress today.

195 648 [361] In the war of the year 1875 all the Chiriguano of Cuevo-Ibo and Huacaya, together with the treacherous Toba and guided by the great cacique Corama, who lost his life in the torrent of Bascua opposite the town of Igüembe, rose up as one man to overwhelm all the whites in the region.

/96/ In this critical situation the intrepid subprefect of the province of Azero, D. Antonio Mendieta, with the militiamen from Monteagudo, San Juan del Piray, Huacareta, and Ingre, flew to the region of Igüembe and with these people overwhelmed the innumerable and ferocious host, reducing it at once to impotence by the slaughter of Caipipendi.

/92 cont./

361 648 Cuevo had belonged by law from long before Independence, and still belonged by right of conquest after the defeat of the barbarians, to the department of Chuquisaca, but the Representación Cruceña /representatives from Santa Cruz/ has constantly demanded the region of Cuevo-Ibo as an integral part of the territory of Santa Cruz.

The current legislature has ended this much-discussed matter on the basis of the law of 1898. Cuevo consequently now belongs to the department of Santa Cruz, because that law fixes as the interdepartmental boundary the left bank of its stream, which is about 150 or 200 meters from the town.

Even the Representación Tarijeña /from Tarija/ has [797] been consulted in this matter and has fixed its boundaries at the right bank of the stream of Camatindi; this was based on the same law and on the fact that the territory was settled by Christians from Tarija and was won over by the Franciscan missionaries from the Colegio of the same city since before 1875. Tarija still retains the region of Caipipendi, which belonged to the Huacaya canton.

When the interdepartmental arrangement is finally made, Sucre will lose a zone of 12 to 14 leagues from Cuevo to the right bank of the Parapiti River, and another eight leagues or so from the right bank of the Camatindi stream, not counting the incalculable zone lost toward the east. Here is the law promulgated: /the remainder of p. 92, p. 93, and six lines, including a footnote, on p. 94 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 94 follows./

Ibo or Ivu Canton

631 648 Once the interdepartmental problem is solved in a friendly fashion, according to the bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies in this year of 1912 and promulgated as the law of the nation, the department of Sucre is prepared to elevate to the rank of canton the region of Ibo or Ivu, the capital of which might be the San Buenaventura Mission, located at this very place.

/94 cont./

631 648 If this were the case, the boundaries of the new canton should be the following, according to the agreement made by the Representación Chuquisaqueña /from Chuquisaca/: on the south the left bank of the stream Vitiacua, on the north the parallel of the stream of Cuevo, on the east the range of Aguaragüe up to said parallel, on the west the ranges of Saararenta and Irenta, and on the southwest the stream of Chimbe.

[799] [162] Within this delimitation are included several Chiriguano towns, the most populous being the missions of Santa Rosa, with more than 1,200 inhabitants, and that of San Buenaventura de Ivu with 652 souls.

White families are few, but not less than 40, which could give a total of at least 160 souls. It might be that with time this small population will grow in the new canton, as that of Cuevo grew.

799 177 463 648 Years are needed for the Chiriguano Indian to be able to take over the political government of a town, in spite of the fact that in the relatively new missions there are musicians, carpenters, woodworkers, masons, saddlers, shoemakers, tailors, and young men who know how to write well and to read better, but it is one thing to know an art or a trade and quite another one to have to administer justice.

/95/ The experience of many years of missionary life and what I have seen in the missions abandoned since the war of Independence justifies my opinion that many years are needed for the Chiriguano Indians to be able to fill certain public offices such as that of corregidor and parish alcalde.

A Project

000 The eastern zone, which today belongs to the three departments of Santa Cruz, Tarija, and Sucre, is somewhat threatened by foreign countries, but it might be that the Bolivian Republic could make friendly settlements with the neighboring nations.

/95 cont./

000 These disputes are prejudicial up to a certain point, inasmuch as they impede the free colonization of the Bolivian Chaco, which would not be the case if everything were peaceful in those remote regions.

Once the friendly settlements were made and the spirits of the settlers were calmed, the region would be colonized more, which would increase the number of inhabitants. If this were the case, it is my opinion that in a short time the Government of Bolivia could establish a new department in the Gran Chaco. The Chaco is open to commerce and to civilization throughout its area, many towns exist there, and, in them, commercial establishments; one can pass through the region without any danger, and the Chiriguano race receives the traveler with demonstrations of affection and subjection. /The remainder of p. 95 and the first sentence on p. 96 are omitted in the translation. Page 96 continues as follows./

Cayuguari

175
648
[103]
Cayuguari is the name given to the country inhabited by an Indian of the same name who fled from Macharetí with others in the year 1856 or 1857; they settled along the lake of Cumbarurenta, four leagues to the southeast of Yrentagüe, and subsequently withdrew 20 leagues farther to the east, because in the company of Toba, Tapiete, and other tribes they had committed innumerable cattle thefts, for which they were constantly hunted by the settlers of Carandaiti, where a picket detailed from Aguairenta is stationed today.

The flight of the Cayuguari Indian to Cumbarurenta first, and today to 52 leagues from Carandaiti, was not due to the death of Captain Taruncunti, murdered by the Machariteños /persons from Macharetí/ Barapiche, Arasuque, and Yepoina, residents of Avay, but to their disposition and outrages committed against their relative, Mandepónai.

/96 cont./

175 648 The expedition entrusted by the Supreme Government to an Englishman, which was to enter the Cayuguari region through Picuigua (water for dovelings), can be said to have failed, because the two attempts which it made were without result and it had to return in order not to perish because of the absolute lack of water.

Picuigua is some 12 leagues distant from Cayuguari. Picuigua is a dry lake, but, with drilling, sufficient water can be obtained for the garrison of the fort which is to be established, should it turn out that the news of the existence of a permanent lake in Cayuguari, where there are some 50 families, is false. /The last paragraph of p. 96, p. 97, and the first three paragraphs of p. 98 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 98 follows./

Itatiqui

361 [131] The town of Chiriguano infidels with which I head these few lines is located 11 leagues from the Franciscan Mission of San Buenaventura de Ivu and seven leagues from the missions of the Parapiti Grande, at 19° 43' 13" latitude south of the meridian of Paris, and at 60° 29' 42" west longitude.

797 361 The Colegio de Misiones Franciscanas de Potosí is trying to establish in this place a Misión Conversora which would depend on the Fathers established on the banks of the Parapiti River. The idea is eminently civilizing and progressive, because this place is located along the highway which, coming out of Yacuiba, passes /99/ through Charagua and ends in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

In the journey from the little town of Buyuive to the Parapiti Grande, there is no other town which might be able to provide services for the travelers and the vehicles which traverse it every day without being able now to count upon any assistance in their difficult crossing.

797 The Indian of Itatiqui is too poor and lazy; it is necessary to get him moving and watch over him so that he may become useful and progress; in his territory there is no water, nor are there artificial lakes so that he and his livestock

/99 cont./

797 might drink, but these latter could easily be obtained with well-constructed dams; but someone to direct him and make him work is lacking.

With the founding of a Misión Conversora the Indian would have the guarantees which at present he does not possess; he would live in his town, which was reorganized not long ago, with the prospect of being protected by the missionary; he would establish his artificial lakes, and the traveler would have a place in which to rest and to sleep, in guest houses, without any danger either to his property or to his physical health.

648 The Supreme Government has been more concerned with this advancement in the region of the Gran Chaco. It issued its decree for a measure of the lands of three leagues more or less in extent which they had possessed ab immemorabili, but when steps were taken to lay out the lines, it turned out that another private party had set boundaries, leaving for the Indians the town and a small parcel of uncultivated lands, and the latter quite limited. Because of the measures taken by this private party, the Indians have lost all of the cultivated land of Igüitiyapi, near which the said private party has undertaken the considerable enterprise of establishing an artificial lake in the place called Caapirenta, pointing out that the measure against the Indians was performed in the same year, 1911, a few months before the order of the Supreme Government in favor of the natives was put into effect.

800 In order that the good intentions of the nation and of the missionaries of Potosí might not come to naught, the Supreme Government should give an impartial person the commission to set himself up in the place, to seek data on the Indians and other well-intentioned people, and subsequently to give a conscientious report so that just decisions might be made. /The last paragraph on p. 99 and the first four paragraphs on p. 100 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 100 follows./

/100 cont./

Missions of the Colegio de Tarija (2)

> 2. At present the Colegio de Tarija has only the missions located in the province of Azero, because Chimeo and Itau seem to be towns of whites rather than Indians.

To describe the glories of this apostolic Colegio of Franciscans is to attempt the impossible in this small work, the purpose of which is not a description of the works of the missionaries, as I observed in the introduction, but rather to tell of the origin and customs of the Chiriguano tribe.

/101/ Tarija might be called the land of missionaries, before and after Independence; it is sufficient to travel casually through that department, and it will become apparent that a church here, a parish house there, and yonder a mission building, all are due to the constancy, patience, self-denial, suffering, and anguish of the Tarija missionary; there are the churches of San Roque, Caraparí, Sella, and Tupiza, which are of yesterday.

Let us penetrate into Azero and Cordillera. What memories they evoke, although some are destroyed and others are falling into decay! Oh how majestically does the image of Brother Francisco del Pilar rise up, he to whose heroic patience are owed all of the missions prior to Independence! Abapó! What an imperishable memory! The church and the mission house are still there, and I have even seen a part of the schools, now almost destroyed; yes, these memories made me pour out tears! They were memories of my brothers, persecuted then and harassed today by men who do not know their merits and by an authority which calls itself the protector of missionaries. Oh no! We might call it by another name, but we shall not pronounce it, but continue forward, for missionaries know how to pardon, as followers of Christ, and even should they be somewhat dismayed by so many unpleasant events, they continue at their tasks, erecting new buildings and repairing the old deteriorated ones.

/101.cont./

361 797 1. Machareti. -- Father Jerónimo de la Peña was the first to enter Machareti, but, before he could begin any work, death intervened, and only after a century, that is, in the year 1869, could the Cross of Redemption be raised, around which began to gather the settlers dispersed by the war and the death of Captain Taruncunti, not very friendly to the missionaries.

[162] Before the mission had been founded for ten years, it numbered more than 3,000 souls, but today it is much smaller, [167] [464] its inhabitants reaching 1,500. Emigration to the Republic of Argentina is a real plague for this area, because the principal recruiters of Indians for work outside of Bolivian territory are there, and it is useless to cite laws, because there are clever interpreters; meanwhile all wait for workers.

361 [133] Machareti has a delightful and picturesque panorama; to the north and to the east the human eye cannot take in the immensity of the plains or the exuberance of the woods and the variety and caprice of the hills. The town is located on a great plain, but is now quite reduced; its buildings, atop a high hill which dominates everything; it has a beautiful church with painting and /102/ gildings, a mission house of two stories, two great halls, with their respective patios, for instruction, and a third one for the music school, and also other buildings for shops (1).

361 797 131 1. When the Machareti mission was founded, it cut off the retreat of the bellicose Huacayeños, who were coming into the Gran Chaco by the Chorro road, some 15 leagues from Huacaya and some 12 from Ivu; its altitude above sea level is 771 meters and it is located at 20° 49' 58" south latitude and 63° 3' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/102 cont./

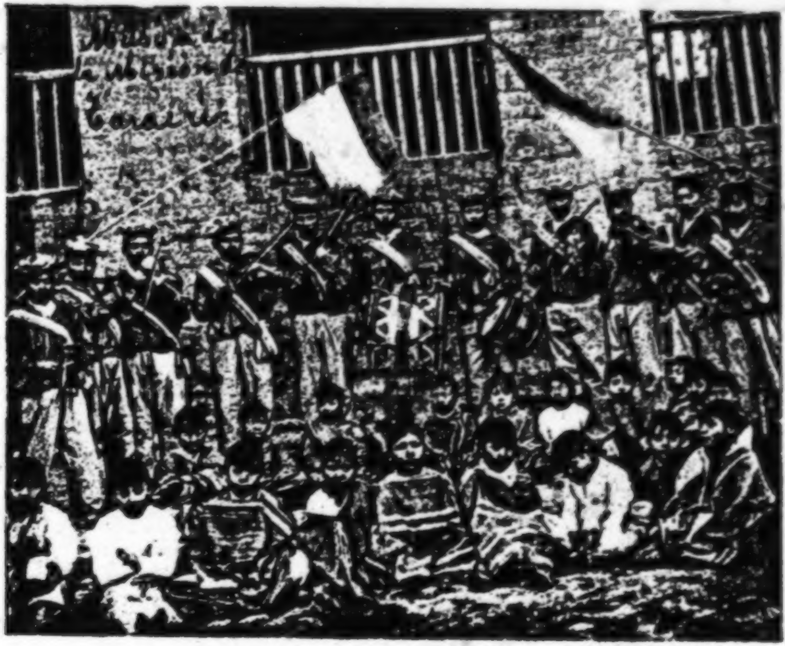
797 2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

361
797
[162] At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

[133] Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascuál de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (2). /Illustration appears here./

[563]
[464]
[131] 2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p. 141]



Music of the Tarairí Mission

/103/

997 3. Tarairi. -- While the immortal Pope Pius IX was declaring the immaculate conception of Most Holy Mary, the Patroness of the Seraphic Order, a dogma of the faith, the religious of the same family belonging to the Colegio de Tarija, by ways unknown to human understanding, were founding the Misión de la Purísima de Tarairi, which was the first one on the left bank of the Pilcomayo and, of course, was very dangerous, being among Indians who did not wish to hear about either religion or morality, not to mention the dangers from the other Indians of the region, the Toba and Mataco. It is about five leagues from Tigüipa and three from Camatindi, a town of white Christians; the road is fair, but there are some ups and downs.

The buildings of this mission are colossal; it seems that everything, from the church to the workshops, was done magnificently; the former is high and wide, the roof has double trusses like the one in Tigüipa, one man being the director of both, its altars are carved, and the image of the Patroness is precious. The buildings are uniform, which indicates that the construction followed a plan; for this reason there is nothing superfluous or anything which is not in direct communication; this building is so convenient that the Padre Conversor can direct from his window the processing of the sugar, raw and milled, and even the manufacture of tiles and bricks and the respective kilns.

The town is large and is divided into two; the one of the infidels is located toward the south on one hand, and the one of the neophytes in front of the mission building. They are neatly lined up, as in every mission, and all have straw roofs. The population is made up of some 1,200 inhabitants, who leave much to be desired, perhaps because of the proximity of Villa-Montes, are quite insubordinate and will quickly refer any matter, however trifling it might be, to the Delegación del Gran Chaco, which, unfortunately, at least in past times, gave too much credence to the lies

/103 cont./
797 of the Indians (1).

[721] 1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 662 meters, and it is located at 21° 8' 27" south latitude and 62° 17' 4" west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguairenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguairenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguairenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguairenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

[563] [191] [177] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well, and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguairenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

/104 cont./

797 has left the mission house and the garden for the use and comfort of the Father-Chaplain. It is located at 778 meters above sea level and at 21° 46' 10" south latitude and 62° 48' 35" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

5. San Francisco and San Antonio. -- In the missions called San Antonio and San Francisco del Pilcomayo the Supreme Government decided to found a city under the name of Villa-Montes; but after it was handed over by the missionaries in the year 1906, instead of progressing, those flourishing settlements have retrogressed. The vineyards and gardens have deteriorated. The buildings are falling into ruin, and morality fell precipitously and is progressively [871] worse there. The schools for boys and girls have been reduced to very few students, and for these few the national treasury distributes 160 bolivianos per month, while to the chaplain who has to live there it pays no more than 240 bolivianos per year.

Everything that belonged to the two missions, such as implements, carpentry, buildings, sugar mills, cattle, horses, etc., was handed over with an inventory to the national delegate, Dr. Don Leocadio Trigo, and the missionaries, without being able to use even a cell which might serve as lodging for the night for the Father Chaplain, had no other recourse but to shake even the dust from their sandals.

[162] The approximate population of Chiriguano natives in the above towns is 4,500 souls (2).

2. The Supreme Government rented the mission building to the German company, which has made little progress. It is located at 460 meters above sea level and at 21° 16' 15" south latitude and at 62° 20' 2" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

/105/

797 Itau, Chimeo. -- Itau has been in existence for more than a century, and Chimeo more than half a century. In the first reside two missionaries, one of whom attends to spiritual matters for the parish of Chimeo, which has been reduced to almost nothing. Indians and Christians live in the area, the latter being more numerous than the former. Itau and Chimeo were missions and officially still are, because the diocesan authority could not accept them due to a lack of clergy, but in fact they are no longer missions. Itau has many white settlers, and in Chimeo the missionary is not even in residence, which indicates that a permanent stay there would be little less than useless, because of the lack of settlers.

7. Yacuiba, Caiza, Carapari, and Camatindi. -- The towns with whose names we have headed these few lines all belong to the white race and are populated centers, especially the first one, where the political authority of the province of the Gran Chaco resides, in addition to which the customs office is also there, because the town is the one nearest to the boundary with the Republic of Argentina. All of them are helped in spiritual matters by the missionaries of Tarija and in some they have a permanent residence.

797 361 8. Carandaiti. -- This recently formed town merits a few exclusive lines. It is some eight leagues from the Machareti mission by a somewhat rough road, deserted and lacking in water. It can be regarded as the largest canton of the province of Azero, inasmuch as its very extensive territory goes to the right bank of the Parapiti River, as long as the interdepartmental question of Cuevo-Ibo is not settled.

The town of Carandaiti owes its founding to the parishes of the canton of Igũembe, Huacaya, and Ingre. After the war of 1875, the Indians of Huacaya were pacified with the founding of the Boicovo mission and the military fort of Huacaya. In a few years several of them left this place, and, with the inducement of receiving in recompense one league of land, they explored Carandaiti and settled in that place. They were attacked by the tribes repeatedly, suffered a few

/105 cont./

797 361 setbacks, and endured the bitterness of having some captured by the savages, but the establishment of the town is now an accomplished fact. It has a pretty church, consecrated at the end of July, 1908, and the only thing lacking is a priest in residence to attend to them spiritually with great care, because Machareti is quite far for this widespread parish (1).

> 1. The Christians who explored the territory of Carandaiti received the land promised; there is no potable water other than that of the ponds, which are in danger of being emptied. The preservation of this town should receive the attention of the Government of Bolivia for the sake of commerce, the cattle industry, transportation, and the prospect of new explorations to the east.

128 127 /106/ With the brief summary which I have made with reference to the missionaries among the Chiriguano and to the towns of whites built in the same region, presided over by the Franciscans of Tarija and Potosí, I bring an end to this second chapter, in which several opinions regarding the origin and point of departure of the Chiriguano for the region which they occupied, and with slight differences occupy at present, have been expressed.

There is no invention in it; by means of patient verification from different persons at different times, by consulting numerous authors, who, by study, reference, or in passing, have left something in writing, I have come to learn certain facts which, if they are believed here, are also believed in other places, and I have concluded that not all of it could be a fable, and as I have heard them told, so do I present them to my readers. This is the chapter which has concerned me most, and I do not know if the time, vigils, and the sleep of which my eyes have been deprived have been well employed; be that as it may, the public now has it.

/106 cont./

Yacuiba

Because of an error in the demarcation of the boundaries [131] [167] with the Republic of Argentina, the town of Yacuiba is located to the south of the boundary stone, while it should be to the north, and the latter, the boundary stone, should be located precisely in Itiyuru, the limit of the Chiriguano race, which has occupied Bolivian territory since its immigration.

[103] Yacuiba, or Yacuigua, as the Chiriguano pronounce it, meant lake of the wild turkey. It is a rich region throughout; its territory is level, the streets which are being built are as straight as a line of this name, the land fertile. There are grown there the arveja or pea, the garbanzo, and other cereals, which plants are irrigated with water which is relatively abundant.

The town, which also fell in the earthquake of 1899, is being rebuilt according to modern methods, and its progress is rapid. It now has a first-class hotel, where the traveler and the countryman are served with all culture and exactness, department stores, where every article is found, and permanent buildings, houses of great size, and a customs building all of zinc from the walls to the roof.

The little city, in addition, is quite picturesque because of the many orange groves which continually embellish it with their green foliage and yellow fruit, /107/ which indicates the fertility of the territory and the abundance of water.

The little city is located in the territory of Tarija; consequently, it was founded through Bolivian efforts. It is the seat of the subprefecture of the Gran Chaco, and today it is a cosmopolitan town, whether because of the many foreigners who have settled there or because of the many others who are continually passing through, not to mention the importance given it by the continual arrival of vehicles and that which it will receive from the proximity of the railway.

/107 cont./

It would be difficult to build a new town, with the same conditions, in Caipitanti, one league to the northwest of the present one, where there is less water. This place, located to the northwest of the present one and at some distance from the vehicular road, would be very suitable for a stay of the Tarija squadron, because it has an extensive plain in front of it, while Aguairenta is encircled by the forest.

Nor would it be easy to locate it in El Palmar, four leagues or more to the north, because the water is obtained by digging, the terrain is sandy, almost in its entirety, and, consequently, not very suitable for agriculture and big buildings.

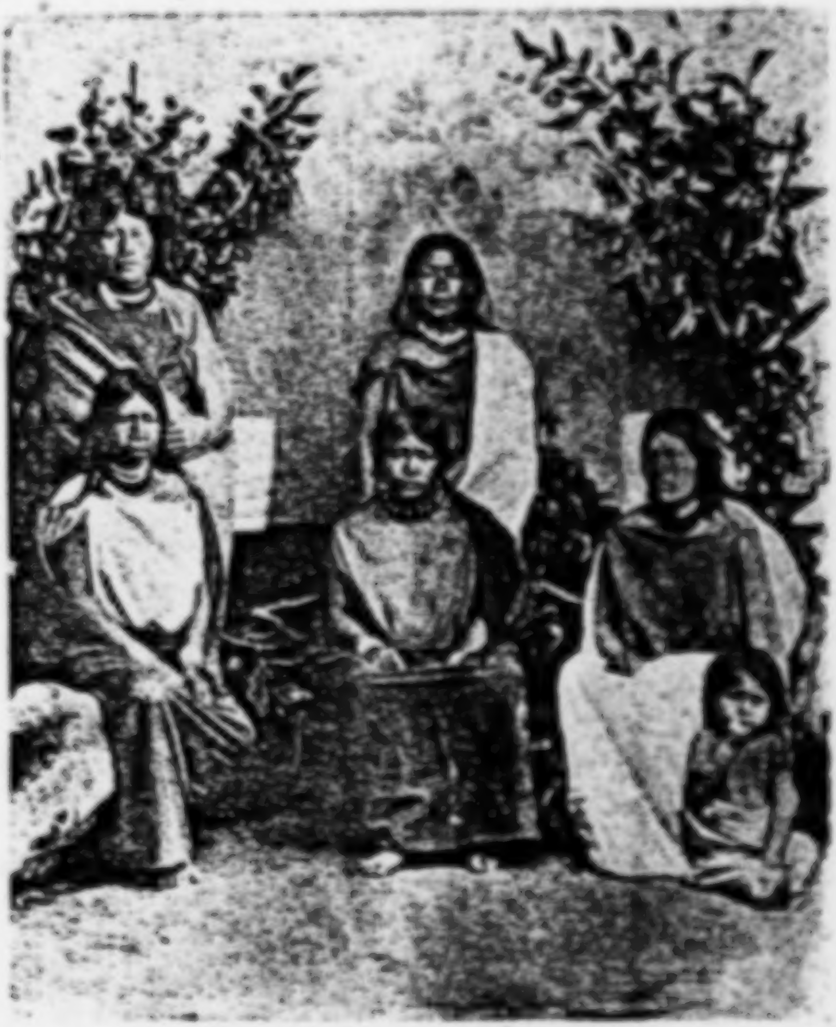
If the present city passes into the hands of the Argentines, it is likely that it will disappear, just as all the enchantment which it has at present may disappear. The neighboring nation would do nothing but cause incalculable harm to its residents, who would abandon their orchards, gardens, and houses, on which they have expended quantities of money.

It is not possible that the inhabitants of Yacuiba would stay there, were the Bolivian Government to build another town in Caipitanti or in El Palmar, because what attracts them is commerce, and this must necessarily be at the place where the customhouse is established, to which the continuous vehicles come loaded with merchandise and deposit their loads which the muleteers carry to Santa Cruz.

The customhouse thus being taken away, there will also be taken away the traffic, without which the town will be dead and necessarily disappear, because the foreigners themselves would prefer to go to the new Yacuiba, where some will find everything needed to live, and others, everything needed for resting for a few days. /The last paragraph on p. 107 and p. 108 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 109./

:Nino--148 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
301
302
516



Group of Chiriguano Women

/108/

Chapter Three

Characteristics of the Chiriguano

Introduction

000 At the end of the nineteenth century, and specifically in the year 1897, the whole Catholic world was invited in advance to attend the great exhibition of sacred art which took place in Turin, beautiful and grand Italian city of the Piedmont. The Pontiff of Rome made his voice heard and the Catholics of the five parts of the terrestrial world made preparations to participate in the literary, scientific, manufacturing industry, and other competitions.

The missions could not fail to take part in this contest of competency; they could not close their ears to the voice of the Supreme Hierarch of the world; with the fervor of the first Christians, with the humility of neophytes, directed by missionaries of all of the Catholic orders and congregations, they prepared an extraordinary contest. In Turin were seen the rarities and products of the missions of China, Africa, Palestine, North America, the colony of Eritrea, Oceania, Patagonia, South America, etc.

Although Bolivia occupies a quite modest place on maps of the world and is slowly being organized to rise to a very great height, it exhibited its products in the said world exposition and was even represented by its tribes. They sent there everything that could be sent from the missions of Guarayos, the missions of Tarija, and those of Potosí. It was then that an Italian photographer, employed in Tarija, went through its missions and those of Potosí, taking pictures of views, panoramas, groups of Chiriguanos, families, churches, missionaries, etc. (1). 792 126

1. The order to take part came from the Curia Generalicia of Rome and the Most Reverend Father Commissioner in Bolivia Enjoined that the Colegio of Potosí be united

/109 cont./

737
126

with that of Tarija because the inhabitants of the missions of both colegios were of the same Chiriguano race.

/111/ The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 148/ is one of the said photographs; it shows a group of Chiriguano women with their festive clothing and adornments, who are ready to attend a public gathering for drinking; it was made in the Boicovo Mission and taken with the others to the exposition. The group of Indian day laborers is reserved for the chapter which deals with work and chores; both groups show the physical constitution of the race, about which Señor del Campana, after the exposition was over, wrote his book; perhaps this gentleman also had seen the four Chiriguano who were brought from the Tarija missions (1).

[113]

1. Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information on the Chiriguano/. Florence, 1902. This is the most complete work that exists in Italy, in view of which I decided to write the present one here where the Chiriguano live.

Physique

114 After having studied the territory that a tribe occupies and consigned to paper what is most characteristic, and, next, having discovered appropriately by means of traditional and historical data or well-founded suppositions the origin and derivation of the tribe, the first thing that is exhibited to the ethnographer and to any observer is the physical body; its proportions, whether large, small, or average, soon strike the eye; the latter, the observer, considers mentally what the former, the physical ethnographer, sees, and begins his narration and then goes on to the character.

/110 cont./

Some explorers and travelers, after having happily concluded their investigative labors, have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Coroies entered their territory, but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have been quite rare, and even rarer are legitimate unions through Catholic marriage, from which generally comes propagation and change in races (3).

> 3. In 30 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

If Señor del Campano states that for a period of 40 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change, on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1900, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza, and those which the missionaries of Potosí and Tarija sent in 1898 to the Turin Exposition, among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Curuyuqui and sold by Father Giannecchini to the Florence museum, what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys, in old women and in damsels, before and after the white Christians were introduced in number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist, because an occasional isolated case, an occasional family, where the mixture of the two races has taken place, cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly; they can devote little time to the study of a race, and consequently their written reports, worthy of all respect, are somewhat exaggerated, as were those of the Spaniards

/111 cont./

144
114
[113]

who conquered Mexico and Peru (1).

1. Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia /History of America from the Discovery to before Independence/. Travelers exaggerate their stories in order to attract more attention.

144
[191]
[142]

There are extensive areas where mixture of the two races was frequent, but it must be pointed out that in these areas the children of such have ceased to be Chiriguano, both because of the Spanish language, which they now speak perfectly, and the color, which is completely different; it is no longer parchment, as Father Corrado states, but a skin which is up to a certain point fine and velvetlike, so that for this class of persons who descend from white and Chiriguano the appropriate name is mestizo and not Chiriguano, and consequently the physical characteristics of the race have not changed. In these same areas families which have kept pure Chiriguano blood are not rare, and these families, or the individuals which make them up, have the same characteristics as other Chiriguano, without any noteworthy difference (2).

2. From the left bank of the Parapiti River northward this radical change is taking place, making the race disappear.

141
142

On the contrary, in the great Chiriguano centers, such as all the missions and a few other areas outside of them, the physique of the native has not changed at all. As a rule their stature does not reach one meter and 70 centimeters in men, and rare are the women who reach 1.60; the hair is black, glossy, and coarse, and very vigorous in

/111 cont./
141 both men and women, and fair hair indicates either an
142 oddity or a clandestine affair. The forehead is rather
small, as are also the languid, downcast eyes; the face is
round, the nose flat, the mouth wide, the denture white as
ivory, the chin short, and the lips rather thick. /112/ The
142 men do not wear beards, and anyone would believe that they
302 are beardless, but the main reason why they do not have one
is that they pull out the hairs as they grow, and for this
they have some tin tweezers with which they make all the
hair disappear, and they do well, because otherwise, in
view of their slovenliness, with long beards they would
really be orangutans (1).

[186] 1. The Toba call the Chiriguano tigre face because of his round face, and the latter gets back at them by calling them horse face because of their long faces. In the missions the neophytes wear mustache and goatee.

141 They have a chest thrust forward, rather heavy
[291] shoulders and arms, normal-sized hands, and not very big
feet, in spite of the fact that they grow as they will since
they always go barefoot, especially the women, and not
147 all of them wear sandals /ojotas/. When they are enjoy-
[853] ing good health, they are very robust, and the women
without the slightest bother will nurse two babes at their
[609] breasts. Whenever some white Christian woman is not able
to nurse, she usually seeks out a Chiriguano woman to wet-
nurse her child; this, in addition to being very advantageous
because of the goodness of the blood, is also quite eco-
855 nomical. But it is true that most Indian women do not
[609] wish to take care of children other than their own; most
[466] of the time they agree to it with reluctance, or by force,
this last occurring when the Indians are subject to a master.

/112 cont./

142 The Chiriguano at the time of birth has a color which is
difficult to define, but, and let nobody laugh at this, his
color is that of newborn mice, and as he grows the color
changes until it is that of sunburnt parchment. The causes
[147] of this change are the tropical heat, the sudden winds and
changes, and the burning sun, to the action of which they
expose themselves with untoward pleasure, with no bother
and without fear, even should they be but tender infants.

441 From this it can easily be deduced that the Indian does
147 not fear the canicular sun, or heat either; he works on the
hottest days without shirt, trousers, or anything which re-
[291] sembles these; he stretches out full length, very content,
[516] receiving on his back the rays of the firey sun, and noth-
ing daunts him. But when the north wind changes to the
south and consequently the cold begins and the frost comes,
he is very cowardly, and it is hard to make him work well
and happily; in such cases it is easier to suspend the work
for a few days, not to pay the laborers anything at all, and not
to get uselessly angry; but this can only be done when the
suspension does not have any bad effects (2). /Illustration
appears here./

2. It is not only the Chiriguano Indian who hates the cold, but also the other races of America, such as, for example, the Quichua /Quechua/, according to what the historian Robertson says.

165 /113/

Life Span

The Chiriguano normally lives a good many years; he
is little affected by heat, cold, and the inconstancy of the
climate, nor by drunkenness and self-indulgence, to which
[145] capital vices he abandons himself from a tender age. Some
reach and pass 100 years, judging their longevity by their
hair, since their hair does not turn white except at a very

[Text Continues on P. 156]

Children of St. Buenaventura School in Ivo

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly; in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and [165] [648] thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough [142] [147] simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men, I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

181 /114/ the same as everywhere else, so that certain travelers who say Indians are very bad would be wrong, as would those who call them very good. A celebrated explorer said not long ago that he found more goodness in an Indian than in a white man and that it is enough to notice only with average attention the faces of the two to be sure of the relative morality of both; as a missionary I neither can nor should consign to these pages my judgment in this regard (1).

> 1. The same explorer approves of the resolute attitude of the Curuyuqui uprising, taking the point of view that they were fighting for their independence and for the recovery of their territory.

186 648 Before the conquest so gently carried out by the Catholic missionaries took place, it was extremely dangerous to enter their territory, even just in passing, and not too long ago it was difficult to pass through the Cuevo-Ibo countryside, where the Franciscan missionaries of Potosí founded their missions, as they had founded those of Tarija in other regions. There was reason for the danger to exist.

The Indian now knew the white man by his deeds; he called him and still does call him caray, that is, astute, greedy, oppressor, and owner of what belongs to other people; if then he looked with misgiving upon the caray and up to a certain point did not wish to have relations with him, it is because this extremely bad image had been formed, from which arose the idea of not wanting to have a bad neighbor in his territory, and he blocked his way in order that he might not come to like the fertility of the area. He was wise to the fact that after exploration comes reconnaissance, and from this rises the desire to possess, which sooner or later is put into execution, as has been the case (2).

[113]

> 2. Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

/114 cont./

648 721 Once the conquest had been completed through the work of the missionaries and through colonization by the inhabitants of several departments, the Chiriguano had to submit to the rights of the stronger; on several occasions he tried to raise his head by means of general uprisings, such as the one of 1875 and the one of 1892 in Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, but they succumbed because of the difference in arms and because the whites were well situated (3).

[113] 3. Martarelli. Addition to the *Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí*, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission.

648 178 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place, I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the *conversores*, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

648 /*115 cont.*/
178 obtain the participation of his people when some work of
public utility is ordered.

157 Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, inconstancy,
181 intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even
[847] suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They
[762] only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome
[461] by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with
all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and
deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family.
[186] But if near the *carai* /sic; see *caray*, p. 157/, they find
another of their own race who might favor them, even
though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they
abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes
or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they
speak of the *carai*, they append the adjective *pochi*, bad,
perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

[533] They learn very easily everything that is taught them,
especially music, for which they seem to have been born,
but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their
ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of
[273] their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and
drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty,
there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and
[178] cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not common
[674] formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example.
In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight,
and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered.
Only after /*116*/ some time has passed or because of enmity
will some fact come to light (1).

[648]
[685]
[754]

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/116 cont./

797
829
177

Difficulties in Reducing Them

If among other tribes missionaries have been able to found missions without considering the material advantages for the Indian, among the Chiriguano this has not been the case. I can say that almost all of them have been founded when the Indian was undergoing some calamity or persecution by his neighbors; Santa Rosa, Ivu, Parapiti, etc. were founded in this way. The Indian does not consider his spiritual well-being; when he admits the missionary into his land, he is thinking of the material advantages. By the same token if in other missions young and old are baptized without distinction, among these people this is not what happens. To baptize an adult Indian who is enjoying good health would be like asking for pears from an elm; he only requests this sacrament when he sees that there is no longer any hope of life, and in the first years of a mission even this is difficult and a great many of them reject it categorically. I could enumerate cases which have happened to me. There are persons who want to be condemned simply because they have heard from the lips of missionaries that those who do not receive baptism are not saved, and, inasmuch as nobody received it before the founding of the mission, they want to descend to the place of punishment in order to see their loved ones again. Oh sad and lamentable ignorance, from which some do not wish to emerge (2)!

> 2. In Yvu there was less difficulty because of the proximity of Santa Rosa, and in Parapiti there was none because of the repeated foundings in that place.

In case of calamity or persecution, the missionary is quickly sought by the caciques, who do not rest until they have gained their ends. One modern proof of this is offered to us in the case of the cacique of the village of Pipi, who

/116 cont./

797 not long ago continually appeared at the Yvu mission to
829 take me to found a mission in his town and thus to free it
177 from persecution by a neighbor, according to what he said.
For this he promised everything, goodness, docility, adherence, free work, and all the rest; religion and baptism only were reserved for children, as in other towns. While the Indian is well off and not bothered by anyone in his lazy life with its frequent drinking, it is not easy to get good things out of him.

797 /117/ Even for the education of a child it is necessary
829 to bribe the Indian with material things. He does not
871 resist handing over his children, but he wants them to be
177 given clothing. No matter how much they may have, he brings them to school completely naked or with a shirt all ragged and torn, so that the missionary will immediately dress them, and let it be noted that he does not ask this as a favor. Up to a certain point he seems to demand it, saying, "Ropa emeé chupé," give him clothing. If the missionary asks something as a favor, he must pay them back in material things; should he forget, they ask for them.

829 It has already been seen that the Tarairi mission was
797 founded in the year 1854, this being the first founding to
177 take place on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River, being due to the zeal of Father José Giannelli. It was near Easter, and the missionary let it be known to various caciques that at that time there would be a commemoration of the death of God and that they should also come, with their pains and afflictions, to demonstrate their adherence to the truths and dogmas of the Catholic faith. He knew through experience that the Chiriguano have a special tenderness for the dead. In fact, a great number of them gathered there to hear the word of the missionary father, who thought that he had conquered them all, seeing them so attentive and silent and seeing them crying and full of compunction. But Easter came, the day of joy, and those who had come to cry about the death of Jesus came once more before the missionary, asking for new

/117 cont./
829 clothing in payment for the service. Let the reader imagine
797 how the poor father, who had nothing, felt when he heard
177 such a petition (1)!

1. Corrado, Historia de las Misiones del Colegio Apostólico de Tarija.

Vices and Their Consequences

883 It seems to be and is an unfortunate truth that in this
842 tribe, once so numerous, there is no lack of coquettish
girls, who, if they restrained themselves from flirting any
more, would not be so bad. The unfortunate thing is that
these poor girls, in order to enjoy mundane pleasures and
drink to the depths the dregs of corruption, or also in order
not to have the nuisance of nursing children and training
[756] them, have recourse to a very simple thing. They consult
[273] the old women who bear the name of sorcerers, and these
[885] show them the remedy, which consists of a drink that they
extract from certain plants or herbs which almost all the
Chiriguano women and Indian sorcerers know wonderfully
well.

883 /118/ These unfortunate girls, usually orphans, once the
786 period of puberty is over, drink this venomous beverage,
[881] suffer a great deal, if indeed they do not die, and are
sterilized, and they then give themselves up to orgies at
[842] the time of general drinking, which is the most terrible
thing that you can imagine, because at them morality is
offended by words and very licentious stories, by raucous
laughter and giggling by men and women, by their glances,
and finally by their acts, although these take place at a
797 suitable distance from the said gathering.

/118 cont./

797 These facts cannot be denied, because they are based
[786] on the experience of centuries. Unfortunately, they do
[883] occur, and it is very difficult to uproot them. There is no
lack of repentance or lack of punishment, admonitions, and fears, but civilizing action is not enough for this, nor even often the Gospel, because: animalis homo non percipit quae Dei sunt. We can say that the action of the missionary is one of yesterday among the Chiriguano. The Christians or neophytes have changed much in relation to the infidels throughout the region, but a great deal more is still lacking for them to come to understand the strength of Religion and civilization, since, naturally, abandoned humanity gives free rein to passions and it is indeed difficult to contain it afterwards in a short time (1).

1. The infidels of the missions complain about the neophytes, but they do not understand that times have changed, and the
[674] race as well. Murders are committed in other places, but this does not happen in the missions.

847 Sister to the sterility which the coquettish girls manage to procure is abortion. There is no woman who does not know the thousand ways for procuring this, always provided that they have not obtained or resorted to remedies for
847 sterilizing themselves at puberty. In general it is those girls
586 who have been betrayed by their lovers or abandoned by
836 those who have sworn fidelity to them throughout their
848 lives who come to this excess of killing innocent babies.
For this reason they not only hate the perpetrator, but also his fruit in their bellies, and thus they make an effort to get rid of the innocent one by plucking it dead from their breast.

/118 cont./

847 [692] But if they do not achieve this purpose, they do not hesitate to commit another greater crime, that of strangling the newborn or burying it alive. In spite of the fact that these cases are not very frequent, neither are they very rare, and they are easily discovered by relatives or neighbors, who denounce them to the town authority, who cannot remedy the matter either, because should he take measures, /119/ they scarcely listen to reason or to the advice that they hear, which they listen to as one listens to the rain fall.

000 Let it thus be understood once and for all that the Chiriguano, like every savage race, need first of all instruction, and later firmness, because without the first they will always be ignorant, and without the second they will scorn the instruction they have received. The Hebrew people, accustomed to religion from the beginning of the world, received admonitions, advice, and laws from Moses, with whom God communicated directly. When the people prevaricated, it was God himself who imposed upon them the punishment which suited their guilt. Sacred history is full of such acts (1).

1. With the law of encroachment, there was committed the error of carrying off prisoner an old missionary. Other such acts will follow this, and when the Chiriguano see that not even the padre is freed from jail, they will lose all fear, and they will henceforth always be criminals. The Indian does not listen to advice; rather he listens to what hurts him.

Suicide

Love is natural to humanity. There must always be an object which is loved. The scholar loves his books, the mechanic his tools, the astronomer his telescope, the mathemetician his theodolite, the philosopher his principles,

/119 cont./

500 the wives of Christ their infinite goodness, and the priests the sciences and their Author. Each one in his branch turns his affection to the object which pleases him most. Even Indians have this privilege, because they are men who come from the same tree, whose trunk is in Adam and Eve (2).

773 2. They say that the first forebears of the Chiriguano race are different from the progenitors of Christians and missionaries, because we are of a different color, wealth, intelligence, and worth. They add that their first father's name was Araparigua.

837
684
593 As a consequence of the foregoing, the Chiriguano has no object which he loves other than his fellow man, because idleness and ignorance do not make him aspire to other things. A man and a woman love each other reciprocally, but as they also inherit the original sin, they are subject to its many consequences. Thus it happens that cases where a man betrays his wife, or she him, are not rare. What is the result of this? If it is the woman who was unfaithful to the conjugal bonds, the man will remedy it by providing her with goodly number of whacks with a stick and separating from her definitively, and if it should be the man, which is generally what happens, it is not so easy for the woman to do anything /120/ about it. Instead she usually sees herself more and more oppressed. The husband makes a martyr of her. Well-founded jealousy begins to destroy her. She can do nothing against her rival. She has no religion which will help her resign herself to

837
684
593
762 her fate. She makes every effort to avenge herself in some way, but it is difficult, she thinks in this extreme case that she achieves all she can do by taking her life. To do this, she finds a rope, puts it around her neck, ties it to any small tree or such thing, casts loose her body, and, since no one sees her, in a few minutes she ceases to exist (1).

1. A woman of some 25 years of age

/120 cont./

762
[837]
[884]
[593]

committed suicide in her own home early one Sunday morning at a height of one meter. She did it by kneeling down.

Suicide is not rare even among men, and there were several during my stay among the Chiriguano. The men, if they are young, commit it in order not to suffer the reproach of their parents for something bad they have done. If they are older than their wives, it is because they have no other way to remedy the woman's infidelity, because there are cases in which a man dominated by his wife and somewhat timid in nature does not dare in such circumstances to throw the bad one out of his house, and thus he believes that he can fix everything by taking his life. These unpleasant happenings and accidents happen in the fields or in the woods.

175
721
628

Boxing and Dueling

In ancient times this race was very numerous and constantly in a state of war against its common enemies, but there were other wars in which one town rose up against another for trivial reasons. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a bloody war between the towns of Yvu and Caraguatarenta against those of the right bank of the stream of Cuevo because of oppression which the cacique Gũiracoti had tried to practice (2).

2. This regional war occurred before Chimeo Mission was founded. Gũiracoti deceived the authorities of Cordillera, who were quartering people in the vicinity and around Parapiti in order to repress the audacity of Yaveau, whom they believed to be the head of the revolution.

/120 cont./

578 Out of these general wars were derived other private
ones, which civilized people called affairs of honor-
dueling. This does not happen in private, as occurs among
civilized people, who go off to a determined place with
578 their respective seconds. All is public, in the presence
541 of many people who come to drink. It is /121/ the
caciques who incite their soldiers to match their strength
and to avenge with crime an affront or an unfounded
jealousy. When this happens, with or without a reason,
the fighters place themselves in the midst of a whole
crowd of spectators in the presence of the caciques, who
urge them on with a word of command, while the poor
angry men hit each other cruel blows.

578 Boxing is ancient, because formerly knives were not
[412] known and, if they had them, they only used them in
[178] their work in the fields. Now the picture has changed;
[767] the young are succeeding the old, and these young people
[464] continually go to work in the Argentine Republic. There
they learn how to drink pure liquor, to handle the knife
with which they are armed for their work, and to defend
themselves. One small word is enough: it is enough if
one says yainano, let us fight, the word of challenge, and
knives are unsheathed, and then blood flows. Fortunately,
they usually are content with inflicting wounds which rarely
bring death because they do not deliver the blow with the
point of the weapon but with the edge.

167 This mania for going off to the Argentine Republic has
464 them in continual movement, and, unfortunately, many of
them remain for years, to return finally bringing almost
nothing with them, and if one asks them, they answer very
167 rudely, "I drank it all." Last year's law has made recruit-
464 ment impossible. Several Indians went off, but they could
648 not get through Villa-Montes and returned (1).

1. If the authorities in Villa-Montes and Yacuiba continue to capture the Indians who are trying to escape, the law will not be in vain this time.

/121 cont./

Love for the Home

574 152 When someone has been away from his town for a long time and returns, he is received with much love. He enters his house without saying a word, and if he arrives at night, to the question of "Who is it?" he merely answers "Checo," it's me, and then those in the house begin to cry or give shrieks of joy which may last for five minutes, and soon they give him something to eat and the [114] questions and answers begin. I witnessed this without being seen one night in Parapiti at the San Antonio Mission.

152 591 167 186 It is not rare that once in a while a smaller or greater proportion of Indians temporarily leave their town, either because of scarcity or in order to avoid the anger or ill will of the cacique. They then go away with considerable unhappiness, and they go into exile like Hagar /122/ with her son Ishmael when they were ordered out by the patriarch Abraham. They cry as they leave, they cry along the way, they cry upon arriving in the land that receives them, where, in spite of the good reception which has been prepared for them by other people, they do not find peace, and they always sigh for their home.

When they decide that in their former dwelling place things may have changed, or that the cacique who is responsible for their misfortune and exile may have disappeared from among the living, they return (1). In Tvu, where the war of Curuyuqui (1892) occurred when the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, all those Indians who had taken part in the uprising were wandering about in

1. The Indian Cayuguari, because of a crime committed in Machareti, fled with a group of Indian friends and relatives, settled quite far away to the northeast of Carandaiti, and, as the cacique whom he offended is still alive and as furthermore Cayuguari began a life of cattle rustling, he never returned to his town.

/172 cont./

152 other towns, and they returned almost en masse, and the first
591 thing they did when they once again trod the soil of their home-
169 land was to cry. I witnessed the arrival of a cacique with
186 his large family. Men and women came loaded with their household goods and children. They arrived in poor condition, covered with dust and sweat (it was at the end of December), tired and sad, and when they saw their fellow countrymen and relatives happy and content under the paternal rule of the Catholic missionary, they put their burdens down on the ground, in the houses of others, and then there broke out the tears and the wails, thus arousing the consternation of all the inhabitants and the missionary (7).

7. Father Corrado relates an analogous case in his Historia de las Misiones de Tarija.

Poor unfortunates! In spite of the vices which dominate their corrupt nature, there is something noble in the Chiriguano race. Their fondness for their native place, for their home, is great. They will make any sacrifice to return and prefer to die of hunger and thirst. They will never abandon their town and their home, unless constrained by necessity, fear, or persecution.

Along the road from Ivo to Parapiti there is a town called Itatiqui, where not even drinking water can be found in the vicinity. Want is eternal there; the crops are miserable there; and they either beg for water or steal it from the lakes which are more than five kilometers from the town. Some six years ago there were about 120 families there, persecuted by some whites to whom they did not wish to be subjected. I tried to take them away to form a part of San Antonio Mission, but it was impossible to move them from the place.

They prefer to suffer hunger, thirst, vexations, and persecu-
790 tions there, but they do not abandon the place. They would re-
717 main there very happily /173/ if a small mission were built for
829 them, as they desire, which is somewhat difficult, considering
179 the special circumstances of the place, since the civil and

/120 cont./

797 religious education of the boys and girls would not make much
829 progress because their parents are in continual movement. Some
179 effort at least has been made to help them by means of the property rights which they have in the territory, about three leagues long by half a league wide, and the plan was then to build them some small chapel, but I believe that these efforts will be left in the filing cabinet for centuries to come (1).

1. Today, instead of missions, they are building forts for the purpose of colonization. Doubtless the epoch of a new method of colonization has arrived, but nobody is ignorant of the fact that this costs the Republic millions, while the cost of a mission is relatively nothing, and the advantages and progress incomparable. What advances are there in Crevaux, in Guachalla, and other places? What buildings are there of note and stability? None. In a single hour the Toba or any other savage may destroy them by fire. Don Fernando Guachalla, the president-elect, said it well when he said that the best and cheapest method of colonizing is that of founding missions.

175
511
[132] Before the Parapiti missions were organized, these Indians suffered considerable misery, because the place was quite dry in the rainy season, and they had no means of planting along the banks of the river, since the few lands there were in the
[136] hands of the whites. Father Giannecchini passed through there in 1887 as an expeditionary to Paraguay, and when he saw them so poor and so reduced in number, he exhorted them to move to some mission, but they answered that it was not easy to leave the place where they had been born and had grown old.

/123 cont./

Aptitudes

461
157 It cannot be denied that laziness is innate in the Chiriguano Indian, but, when compared with the Toba, Mataco, and other tribes, I assert that they do a great deal or even too much. They need a guide, they need to be watched over, but when this is not lacking, they are hard working. The whites
464 in the regions inhabited by these Indians do not know of any other laborers. All the towns of Cordillera, Azero, and Gran Chaco have been built with the energies of the Chiriguano. With these same laborers are sustained the agriculture and cattle raising of these provinces, and even by means of them are the national roads of these regions kept clean and open, as well as those from one canton to another, the one from Yacuiba to Santa Cruz and the one from Taperilla. The Chiriguano laborers began and are continuing the work on the Azero bridge, /124/ and many of them are still working on the Bermejo River close to where it arrives at Yacuiba (1).

(1). A private enterprise composed of Don Braulio Zapata, corregidor of Carandaiti, the subprefect, Don Ramón Menduiña, and other well-known and rich men of the same town is organizing an expedition to the fields of Cayuguari to found a fort there and to conquer the territory. The subprefect plans to open a cart road, with the help of the Chiriguano cacique, Mandepóinai, and his soldiers.

797 The paternal rule of the missionaries has managed to make the Chiriguano much more docile; it has succeeded in building towns and large centers of population around the Cross; there is not one of the towns of those who live in complete ignorance of Religion that can be compared with them. The Missionaries have succeeded in building magnificent churches, great teaching establishments, comfortable and airy houses, workshops for arts and crafts. They have managed to implant the teaching of

/124 cont./

797 Religion, that of reading and writing, and even the art of musical chords, which is only seen in the great centers of the world (2).

[533] 2. In the Potosí missions there are four music bands, and in those of Tarija, two.

The history of the Tarija missions is glorious in all of its pages. The reader can consult, whenever he wishes, the one of the Colegio of Potosí in its two epochs as well. This will cast a brilliant light upon the matter, and the traveler can say nothing to contradict it when, ecstatically, he contemplates the grandiose, strong, and well-planned edifice of the Santa Rosa Mission, that of the elevated Machareti Mission, that of the old or semisecular Tarairi Mission, and the one which, as though by enchantment and with order, is being built in the mission of San Antonio del Parapiti Grande.

797
157
177
All of this shows that the Chiriguano, in spite of his indolence, is docile, and with gentleness and a little strictness at the same time he will do whatever the white and the missionary wish him to do. It finally demonstrates that, though he does have his vices and defects, certain human virtues are not lacking. It shows that it is necessary to educate his nature by teaching, with civilization, as the carpenter with his plane smooths a piece of wood if he wants to make the job elegant, or a blacksmith with his file smooths the rough iron until he has made a key, a lock, or any other object.

/125/ Philanthropy

577
829
To end this third chapter and then pass on to deal with Chiriguano religion, I am going to say in passing that they are very compassionate with the unfortunate. If one of them suffers the harshness of imprisonment, they all make every effort to ask that he be freed and will even sacrifice whatever they may have to obtain it. If someone is sick, he is visited by many; [936] if one is left an orphan, all are his fathers, mothers, grandparents, and brothers and sisters, or at least they are his uncles and aunts or brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

/125 cont./

736
[578] Thus, being an orphan is unknown among these Indians, and the worst insult that can be given to a Chiriguano is to call him Tinei, orphan, or paravete, poor. The family which takes charge of an orphan who was left without a father or mother or close relatives, treats him better than its own children. To the latter it shows strictness and obliges them to do certain chores of minor importance, but to the orphan never. He works because he wants to, and he sees that gratitude to his new parents demands it of him. He remains in the house in which he is a guest until the age of puberty, and then, with no thanks whatever, he disappears and goes to live in other towns, where he may settle down temporarily or forever, depending upon how well he may be received there (1).

576 1. Chiriguano boys never thank anyone for anything, but when they take leave they say *Ayema, I am leaving. Old people and* adults utter an occasional word of thanks.

574
609 With transients or travelers, whether they be Indians or whites, they use proper manners. If there is chicha in the house, it is the first thing that they offer him when he has taken a seat, and then they prepare for him whatever food is available. There are travelers who remain in a Chiriguano house for weeks and months, and never does the Indian get tired of him. He serves him just as he served him on the first day, and when he leaves he even makes him promise to come back to visit. Oh, how the barbarians who are called savages shame the conduct of so many men who call themselves civilized, and, greater dishonor, Catholic Christians! They treat inhumanely their fellowmen, comparing them with quadrupeds. They cheat the helpless, are bad examples for the unfortunate, making them pay dearly in times of want for even a handful of maize, while the Indian, when he has it, will give it away, or charge very little for it, and makes no request for payment should the white come to his house to ask for water or for chicha, which is never lacking in times of abundance (2).

2. I have seen maize sold on the scales at

/125 cont./

574 609 20 centavos the libra, and 25 as well. In the Chaco this is too expensive.

/126/

600

Chapter Four

Religion, Divinities, and Beliefs of the Chiriguano

/The introduction to this chapter, "An Illustrious Franciscan," pp. 126-127, is omitted in the translation./

/128/

Religion

121 It is beyond any doubt that all peoples profess some religion.

This fact is proved by the testimony of all missionaries and confirmed by innumerable travelers of various nationalities and who profess different creeds.

But to the extent that religion implies external demonstrations of veneration, the variety of ways of worship is so great that it may well be stated that every people has its special way, proper and peculiar to it, in which it honors its divinities.

The most advanced peoples display in their respective demonstrations of worship all possible splendor. They have magnificent temples, priests, and a ceremonial which, if it is not always in conformity with the dictates of common sense, does tend, nevertheless, by its nature and form, to awaken in man a sense of veneration and respect for a superior being, represented by something which strikes the senses.

From this point of view it would not be too bold to state that the external worship of peoples in general is in direct proportion to their level of civilization and culture.

This explains why among savage people there can scarcely be discovered a single sign, a ceremony, which might be a sign of external demonstrations of worship. But in reality it does

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there
is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not
show Him homage in some way.

771 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find
124 out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion
they profess and what type of worship they render to their
divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt
due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion,
and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every
point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate
776 one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true,
775 however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they
recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of
the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they
preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation
if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah
of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

[805] 1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the
[771] months by moons, and they have other very
[192] similar customs. It is very notable that they also
have some Hebrew words.

577 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is,
771 natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts,
since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/129 cont./

796 This same thing is not true with respect to the external
78 demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage
771 people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate
manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they
completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god?
It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because
[186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been
able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship,
this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the
savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the
forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion.
This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious
acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

776 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

/130 cont./

776 What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

124 From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible
776 to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say
true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no
contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find
one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people
who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?"
they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?"
They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not
797 know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened
177 on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the
829 company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of
[114] Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part
in the war of 1875 against Igũembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

> 1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things,

/130 cont./

192 and it is the one that they apply to anything that causes them wonder or admiration over something new.

776 It is the missionary and the Christians who have made it under-
192 stood to the Indian that Tunpa means God, the maker of all things
[797] visible and invisible. Father Corrado, one of the most illustrious
Franciscan missionaries, who thoroughly understood the Chiriguano
language, in which he wrote a brief but profound catechism, says
clearly in a note on its first page that it cannot be stated /131/
that the word Tunpa means God, and he only puts it in his
catechism because all the writers who have dealt with the
Chiriguano race give the word Tunpa the meaning of God.

This Tunpa of which the Chiriguano cannot give a clear idea and which the missionaries and Christians explain as meaning the true God, Tunpaete vae (1), is for the Indian the source

[193] 1. The particle "Ete" in this language expresses the superlative degree. It is put after a noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb.

of all that is good, a living and material being, in contrast to another divinity. He makes it rain, he makes the algarrobas, maize, gourds, and everything edible ripen, he wards off sickness and all calamities, in spite of which all these kindnesses are still attributed to the sorcerers, men of flesh and blood like anyone else, who consequently have the name Tunpaete, for which reason I said that, for the Indian, Tunpa is a living physical being. If the missionary, as Columbus did, could announce in advance an eclipse or the appearance of a comet, for the Indian he is a Tunpa (2).

2. Several times I have announced beforehand eclipses of the moon. Last year, long before it became visible, I announced to the Indians the appearance of Halley's comet. This was sufficient for me to be called Tunpaete.

/131 cont./

776 Besides the Tunpa, the old people accepted and still accept in certain places another divinity more powerful than the one described. This second divinity is the astute and intrepid fox, called in their language Aguara-Tunpa, fox god. According to them, he is almost always in a struggle with the first one, and they state as a dogma of faith that he does everything possible to destroy the work of the true God, sometimes showing himself to be a friend of the human race, limited to the Chiriguano, and at other times its enemy.

A Fabulous Belief about the Flood

773 I am going to tell a fable which confirms the second property of the Aguara-Tunpa, because it also gives an idea of the universal flood, argued about so much today, concerning which so many opinions have been forthcoming, some of them admissible and others poorly thought out. Here it is:

It is told that in very remote times the Aguara-Tunpa declared himself at war with the true God, creator of the Chiriguano race. The reason for this enmity is not known, but it seems that he did it because of a contradictory scheme or spirit. In order to spite /132/ the true God, the Aguara-Tunpa set fire to all the fields and pastures at the middle or beginning of autumn, and, together with the plants and trees, all the animals which served as food for the Chiriguano died, so that the latter, who had not begun the sowing of maize and other cereals, as they do now, found themselves close to perishing (1).

In this extremity they came to the banks of the rivers and lined their banks to seek in the waters what they could not find on the land, which was still smoking from the terrible fire, and then Aguara-Tunpa, who was close of being frustrated in his

---

1. In a not too distant period, before spring began they burned the fields in honor of Aguara-Tunpa.

/132 cont./

773 purpose, thought up another supreme effort, making fall from the heavens torrential rains, Iporu (2), in order to destroy the Chiriguano

[192] 2. I means water, and its pronunciation is gutteral and nasal; poru means to lend oneself /prestarse/; thus, Iporu is explained literally: he lent himself to water /se prestó agua/.

race completely inundating all men in the waters.

He would have succeeded in destroying all the Chiriguano, but they in extremity and perhaps by advice from the true God, Tunpaete, found a large gourd, Choguao, put in it two small human beings, children of the same mother, male and female, cuimbae, cuña, and they let the little vessel float on the surface of the water.

The rain continued to fall in all its force. The waters rose over the surface of the land, rising to great heights, and drowned all the Chiriguano except the children in the Choguao, or large gourd, who were saved from the catastrophe. Later it ceased raining, and the waters dried up again, leaving a thoroughly filthy mud. The children came out of their receptacle, without which they would have died of cold and hunger.

It can be easily understood that the fish and their kind did not perish in the waters of the Iporu, and thus for a long time these had to be the food of the two human beings, but how to cook them, when even fire had disappeared? Before this happened, there was another compassionate being who did not permit the total loss of this good element. This being or second cause was the Cururu, toad (3).

[192] 3. The word Cururu should not be confused with Curu, which means mange. From Curu comes Curuyuqui, salt which cures mange. The
[114] pacifiers of the war of 1892 wrote incorrectly Cururuyuqui.

/133/

773 The *Cururu* then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

[538] [825] 1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of *Aguara-Tunpa* against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

776 173 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be *Tunpa*, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be *Tunpa ichi*, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

/133 cont./
776 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by
173 certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert
792 and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas
to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy
war (2).

000

> 2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

776 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico
173 /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions
792 says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques
791 chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his
oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence.
He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors
(one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary),
gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must
respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if
they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were
good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano
towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or some-
[775] times many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case
it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or
for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned
775 souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes
and the loss of eternal blessings.

/134 cont./

115 If one asks the Indians about this point, they answer that a woman has seen in her dreams the shade of her departed husband, or he that of his departed wife, and both, those of their children, relatives, or grandparents, for all of whom they have an excessive fondness, and it can be deduced from this that in the Chiriguano race there is a confused belief in the immortality of the soul, since, with regard to the body, they themselves can see that everything turns to dust and earth.

115 116 192 Some explorers and travelers have set down in writing that they call the soul Aña; the Indians also confirm these accounts, but they do not give the name Aña indiscriminately to all souls, but only to those which had a very bad death, such as suicide, and those who took a long time to die. But in no case would a mother call her child's soul Aña, nor would relatives use this term for their departed, because Aña means demon or evil spirit (1).

[123] 1. At times I have been called to pray near a person gravely ill, so that he might die sooner and thus be free of that spirit, which, according to them, is bad, but I made it understood to them that I would neither pray as they wished nor was the sick person evil because of taking a long time to die.

The true enemy of the Tunpa is the Aña, demon, but /135/ this latter word only means demon through use, just as iã by the same use means soul. The Indians today give both terms the meaning that I attribute to them, and I still lean on the authority of Father Corrado, who in his catechism defines Aña as demon, Anãrenta, place of demons, Aña inuna, the demon's companion, 115 116 yaneãgũe, our soul, iãgũe, their soul. The Indians have great fear of a demon and souls possessed by demons; they say that they frequently see them at night, and when they have to walk in the shadows, they carry a burning firebrand (1).

[192] 1. Aña means phantom in Chiriguano; iã means shade, cuarasi iã pe, in the shade. Missionaries should make them understand the true meaning.

/135 cont./

775 776 because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade; chemembi iã ahecha, I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

776 784 [123] One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Conversor of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning firebrand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Aña añuguae vaena, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

776 174 171 From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the sorcerers some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Antonio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Aña, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheatfields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Aña which the said missionary applies to the demon (2).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

/135 cont./

000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Añia, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [789] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Añia.

773

Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [177] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

/136 cont./

773 [585] [177] wife and his Christian daughter, whose name is Candelaria Asúmbai, married according to the Catholic marriage ceremony.

Anduari then says that the first Chiriguano man, named Araparigua, without others knowing it, was saved from the universal flood, because, as a creature who had come directly from the hands of God and consequently was very beloved, he was taken up to the sky before the earth was flooded. /Illustration appears here./ /137/ When the Chiriguano had multiplied anew, he came down again to enjoy as before the pleasures of Bacchus and Venus, but very soon he made himself abhorred by all the people because of his haughtiness and his abuse of the property and women of others. Hence he was at the point of perishing, murdered by his own vassals, but Tunpa came to his aid, took him away again, and put him in his company. There Araparigua swore vengeance and asked Tunpa to destroy the whole race. God, knowing that his privileged creature no longer had any close relatives, such as a wife, mother, father, and children, acceded to his desires, and the Chiriguano were destroyed for a second time (1).

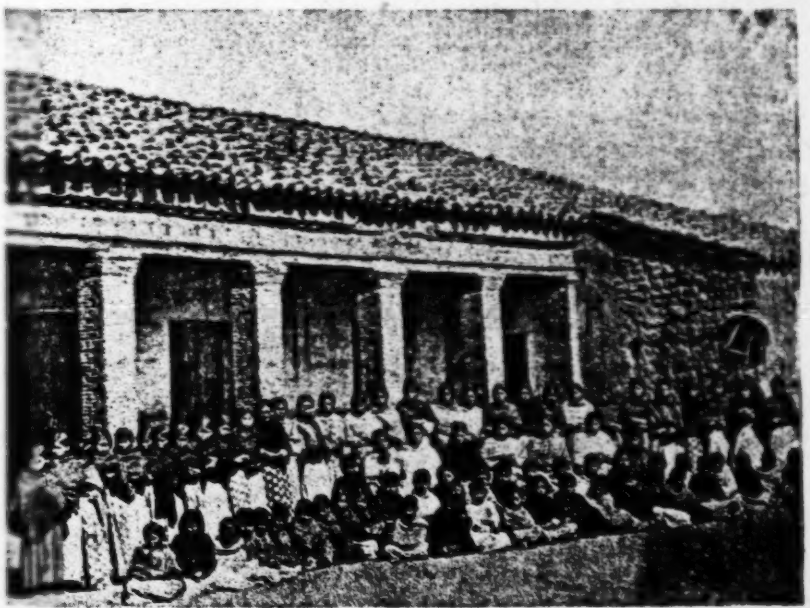
[595] 1. The caciques follow the example of Araparigua, having several wives and abusing others, to the great sorrow of their parents and of the damsels themselves. It is completely false that the women of this race who fall to the cacique consider it an honor, as is stated by Dr. Leocadio Trigo. I do not know if this happens with those of other races, but he writes in general of all of the races of the Chaco.

But the Tunpa did not wish to be without privileged creatures for a long time, and he came down to earth again. He made a human body from clay with all the members corresponding to the masculine sex. Then he made another with all the members of the female body. He gave life to both, they lived, and he left them in their nakedness, leaving them in possession of a beautiful place.

[text continues on p. 188]

4: Nino--187 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
871



Girls' School of S. Buenaventura de Ivo

/137 cont./

773 In this beautiful and picturesque place there were fruit trees of all kinds, the fruits that they produced were beautiful to see and agreeable to the palate. Before leaving them the Tunpa gave them free use of all the fruit produced by the trees, prohibiting them from touching and eating the fruit of only one.

826
773 After a few days the man, passing under the prohibited tree and seeing the beauty of its fruit, said, "Why would God not want us to eat such beautiful fruit? There would not be anything bad in my simply tasting them, and furthermore he cannot see me." So he took one and put it in his mouth to eat, but at the same time that he was doing this he turned his head, and the fruit, instead of going down to his stomach, stuck in his throat, thus forming the haseuranti, or what is commonly called the Adam's apple (2).

> 2. The woman never touched the forbidden fruit, and the proof is that there is nothing in her throat; there is no haseuranti or Adam's apple: this is what the Indian himself says.

773 According to the account the woman did not eat the forbidden fruit, but in spite of this she felt the effects of the disobedience of her husband or companion, since, like him, she was ashamed of being /138/ naked and she felt the stirrings of concupiscence, which previously neither she nor the man had felt, and as a consequence of which they were united matrimonially, only after having broken the divine precept.

The Tunpa was not long in appearing, and before him they were both ashamed to see themselves naked, and they covered their nakedness by sitting huddled up on the ground. The Tunpa, who knew everything, called them to him gently, forgiving their sin, and gave them each proper clothing, and bade them farewell, allowing them to multiply.

The Indian, as anyone can understand, sees this as the reorganization of the Chiriguano race, but we can all see in this story the creation of man, his primordial innocence, his life in paradise, the prohibition which God imposed on him,

/138 cont./

993 the disobedience that was his sin, and the confusion which the guilt caused in him, with its consequent reprehension (1).

> 1. This story lacks the *promise* of a Savior, a most important fact, to be sure, but it should be kept in mind that this is a centuries-old tradition. The Indian is ignorant and only sees material things.

It can clearly be seen that this account, with only a slight difference, follows the story told by Moses in the first chapters of the Bible and adds even more to the proof that the inhabitants of the Américas came from and are descendants of the first man, a fact which so many enemies of Religion make efforts to deny. It also proves the unity of our race or species against Darwin, who would have it descend through evolution until it is related to the orangutan (2).

> 2. Hernán Cortes visited the Emperor Moctezuma during his first visit to Mexico. The latter assured him that they descended from other very ancient men, similar to the Spaniards, whom they called brothers.

It is easy to see that the Chiriguano tradition just related has been altered slightly, and that they attribute the reconstruction of the race to it, which, according to the Bible, is in fact the creation or formation of the first man. Centuries have passed since the universal flood and even more since the creation of the [212] first man. The Chiriguano race is ignorant, has no books, no [174] writing. It is descended from the *Guaraní*, who always lived apart from civilization. It could never be subjugated by the Incas, and thus it is not strange that the said tradition regarding creation might have changed until it is believed to be a second creation. Instead it is strange that /139/ up to now it has been preserved so clearly and with so few differences. I confess that when I first heard it I could not but be surprised and amazed, and I present it for the consideration of my readers just as I heard it.

/139 cont./

Belief in the Future Life

775 This belief has suffered many more alterations than the previous one: nevertheless it reveals that even under the rude and ignorant nature of the poor Indian and the unfortunate Chiriguano there is in force the idea of the great philosopher, non omnis moriar, which so many materialists would have end with material life, doubtless in order to drown apparently the remorse of the gnawing worm which from time to time appears and unintentionally reminds us of the perversities which have been perpetrated (1).

[771] 1. It is difficult for the Chiriguano to understand spiritual matters, for which reason his ideas concerning the future life are purely material. Without revelation this dogma of faith is not understood.

When the soul of a Chiriguano leaves the body, it does not die. All, without realizing it or even suspecting it, have this idea of the immortality of the soul. Mourning and sentiments of grief, burial, and things that they put in the coffin when someone dies, with which I shall deal later, are related to this. Should someone ask them about this, they would answer, "Mahano" How will it be? I don't know. In spite of this ignorance, in order to express their thoughts regarding the soul and its immortality, they admit that there are three places for souls: Tumparenta, Ibaca, and Cuaraigü, Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell.

[123] [191] I am going to deal with the three, rectifying what concerns Ibaca, which belief I was acquainted with from the beginning of residence among the race and an account of which can be found in my little Neme, which was printed in the year 1905 to help Chiriguano children learn the Spanish or Castilian language.

The Tumparenta is literally the place of God, or his dwelling place, as the añarenta is the dwelling place of the devil. I have already noted the fact that Tumpa is the source of good, of all virtue, of everything good: Tecocavi. With this idea that he has of God, the Chiriguano naturally concludes that God only

/139 cont./

775 admits to His company good, virtuous people who are free of all evil, *Mbia hecocavi vaé, cuña hecocavi vaé*, a man or woman of good habits, /140/ excluding the wicked, murderers, and suicides, who become *Aña*, demons, or souls of the bad ones (1).

[192]

1. *Tenta* means town and place; joined to another noun the *T* changes into *R*, which is why one says *Tumparenta*, *Añarenta*, *Irenta*, etc., or God's place, devil's place, and water place.

In order that the Chiriguano may go to the *Tumparenta*, even for the sole purpose of visiting his relatives, he must subject himself to four difficult tests, which, without help, directions, or advice, would be insuperable, from which can be seen the necessity for the sacrifice subjecting oneself to the arrangements of the *Tumpa* and of following the wise teachings of a sagacious guide, for if a traveler needs one to pass through a mountainous or desert region, exposed to innumerable dangers, how much more logical is it that the man should also have one when dealing with knowledge by means of sacred books on the road to eternal life? From this the reader can deduce how much in error are the followers of Luther, Calvin, etc., who attempt to investigate the true meaning of the Bible only by the dictates of their conscience, and doing without the infallible mastery of the Church established by Christ in the person of St. Peter and his legitimate successors!

An old Chiriguano had lost his wife whom he loved with all his heart, for which reason his grief and pain were incalculable. As a result his life was in danger and he was about to die. At this a compassionate soul appeared to him and said: "Why are you crying so much? Why are you in such pain? No doubt you don't know the fate which has befallen your wife! Know that she is enjoying herself, that she is in a place of delight where all is pleasure and there is no suffering, where one drinks every day and there is always a fiesta, where there is no poverty, or cold, or heat, or sickness. Let us go so that you can see and stop crying. But I warn you that before going, like all, you too must pass the four tests, which you will overcome easily in my company."

/140 cont./

775 The afflicted Indian, desiring to see his mourned wife again, quickly dressed himself in his best clothes, adorned his person, painted his face with Urucu, Bixa orellana, put around his neck the Itogũi, necklaces, picked up his lance, and went off, following the strange and mysterious guide (2).

> 2. It is natural for fallen humanity to clean up and dress up in order to present itself decently before a respectable public or before venerated persons. Christians ought to practice this when they go to church to hear or receive the divine mysteries and sacraments.

/141/ They made the fir[illegible] day's journey without incident and prepared their first night's lodging on a green and beautiful plain, where grew perfumed flowers and gigantic trees, which, with their leafy tops provided shelter for an infinity of birds. There they slept very peacefully without having their sleep disturbed by the wild animals of the nearby woods, and the next day, early in the morning, they set out again, and when the wide plain ended, the guide said to the Indian: "Get ready because we are now near the first test." And in fact he could see it. It was an enormous fire which rose almost to the clouds and then quickly came down again. Every time it rose up, it formed an arch, which allowed one to take a quick step. When he was warned by the guide that he should drive his horse forward at a gallop at the instant that the great flame rose up, they did it and passed through without incident (1).

> 1. Before beginning his trip the Chiriguano, on the mysterious guide's order, stole without permission two horses belonging to others and saddles for the comfort of both.

Before arriving at the end of the second day's journey they found themselves facing another danger. This was a wide well of boiling water which completely blocked the way, as did the first and later things. The well was easy to get over by a great

/*141* cont./

jump on the part of the horse, but the boiling water kept rising to a great height and then would come down again with great force. The passage, however, was managed by the travelers quite happily, and they got far enough away from the place so that the noise did not disturb their rest and their sleep that night.

On the next day, before sunrise, they again began their trip toward the *Tunparenta*. The clear dawn and the fresh morning breezes announced a beautiful day; the little birds of the woods with their sweet and gentle songs brightened those lonely places. The jaguar in the distance showed his displeasure because the silence of those woods had been disturbed by alien living beings, and other beasts of the forest fled in fear, while the star of the day appeared with its shining face, casting beams through the thick woods which covered the region.

Now the sun was shining in the firmament as on the other days. They had now covered one third of the way when the third test appeared. This consisted of two enormous boulders in continuous movement, opening and closing continually with a terrible noise like thunder. /*142*/ With the guide showing the way, and the Indian passed through without difficulty, and very soon they arrived at the fourth test. This was made up of some huge scissors with the points down, which would have cut any careless person in half without any possibility of escape, but the travelers passed without difficulty, and after this they found themselves in front of the *Tunparenta*.

This was an immense pampa, carpeted with flowers and grasses of every color and full of happy people who drank continually the favorite liquor of the Chiriguano. The Indian there saw his wife and his daughter, richly dressed, resplendent like the moon, and he asked them to return in his company, but they did not consent. The Indian returned alone, promising to behave well in order to be able to join them soon (1).

1. The first of the spouses to die waits in the *Tunparenta* for the survivor in order to be reunited again. Bachelors must wait until spinsters die, in order to contract matrimony in heaven, where they do not experience the jealousies and debauchery of their companions.

/142 cont./

775 The *Iboca* which I have mentioned is in a certain way similar to the purgatory of the Catholics, and in some ways similar to limbo, since the Indians state that souls which go there are in utter darkness, which is the same thing as not seeing God, and this alone constitutes great suffering. Other corporal and moral punishments do not exist there, but the darkness is perpetual (2).

> 2. In *Iboca*, located southeast of Igũembe Canton, souls can be heard at night in continuous joy and bacchanalia with songs and dances. By day all is sepulchral silence, so they all say.

The *Cuarasigũĩ*, literally, under the sun, is for the Chiriguano the true hell, where is felt the true eternal fire which is represented by the sun, in the immediate vicinity of which it is impossible to remain, as the natural sciences, cosmology, demonstrate. According to the Chiriguano, those Indians who take the life of another, those who take other people's property, those who commit suicide, and those who commit sins *contra naturam* go to *Curasigũĩ*.

773 According to a famous explorer and ethnologist who not long ago passed through the region from Guachalla to the boundary which divides Bolivia from Peru in the northwest, there exists among the Chiriguano the idea or belief in the Tower of Babel, where the confusion of languages took place. According to that reference formerly there was but one language spoken, and, according to them, this was Quichua /Quechua/. The idea of creation, of the flood, of the confusion of languages, the method of counting the months by moons and the seasons by what they signify, /143/ and various Chiriguano words similar to Hebrew are powerful arguments to demonstrate the unity of the human race against the rationalists who are trying to show that there were men destroyed by the flood in America (1).

[192]
[197]

> 1. The Chiriguano words *ava*, *hae*, *hũũ*, and *mahanu*?, man, he, black, and what is it?, are similar to the Hebrew *av*, *ael*, *húm*, and *mahanu*?, man or father, he, black, and what is that?

/143 cont./

Prayers

771 Certainly the fact that this race does not have external manifestations of worship greatly attracts the attention of men of science and missionaries. The Chiriguano is born and grows like a little lamb is born and grows. They do not know where they come from, and all of their actions are reduced to pure nature. The Chiriguano never raises his mind or his heart up-
[821] ward. He discusses the firmament; he counts the stars and even separates them into groups as though by astronomical principles; he admires the grandiosity of the sun and of the moon, he understands the beneficence of the nourishing world, but the totality remains mute and silent before the works of nature or
[982] of creation. Visible things do not lead the intelligence of the Chiriguano to the knowledge of the Cause of such effects, and inasmuch as he has a rather vague idea of God, he does not offer worship to Him or to anything which resembles Him.

982 It is consequently useless to look for idols in this country, just as it is extremely useless to inquire about temples or hermitages for religious gatherings. Prayers, however much they may be investigated, are very abridged, if there are any, and are not worth being called such, because they are rather a kind of boasting by the one uttering them, in order that all may see that he is eloquent in speaking. This is what they do in the general gatherings when they drink for many days and eat in the
[539] plaza. Enthusiasm comes in the heat of drinking, and, on seeing an immense multitude, someone will raise his voice, saying more or less the following: Çheru Tunpa, icaviño taicó, pucu emeé cheve cherecovena, cherimbiuna emoñimõña cheve, tacherori catu taicó, anu tamano. My God, make me be well off, give me a long life, make my food be produced, give me happiness, do not allow me to die (2).

[961] 2. The only thing that the Chiriguano wants is to live forever, but he sees that it is impossible and contents himself with expressing his vehement desire, but he does not believe that death comes to him naturally.

/143 cont./

000 The sun is a beneficent star; it gives us light, warms us in winter, causes food to grow for men and animals, /144/ it is a creation which God has put in the world so that, as a second cause it will maintain the universe and all things in it, this being the principal virtue granted to it by the Maker of all things.

821 782 The Chiriguano understands the virtue of the sun to the extent that it strikes his corporal senses, and thus it was with difficulty in ancient times that he elevated his spirit to the contemplation of another invisible Being superior to the star of the day, from which it came about, according to some writers, that the Chiriguano would address some prayer to this king of the sky, like some tribe, and timidly and courteously uncover the head upon meeting an intrepid fox.

But however much I asked about this subject, no one gave me any information about such a prayer. The only thing they said that the old people did was to call the sun father and ask it not to hide its face. [797] Today, when the country is invaded by whites and even by people from the Old World, today when there is no Chiriguano place that has not been trod by the foot of the missionary, founding missions here, passing through there, and in another place exploring the will of the Indians, all has changed and those who do not know of the existence of the true God are few. There are few Indians who do not know that the sun is a work of God and therefore incapable of receiving outward demonstrations of veneration, when they do not even render it to God (1).

1. It is very probable that formerly the ancients were happy when the sun came out, as anyone would be happy, and that they would have a special fondness for it, whence comes the argument by some that they address prayers to it, but it is natural for man to be happy when the sun appears.

/144 cont./

Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

[278] [317] [231] 1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

797

The Santa Rosa Mission Band

135 /145 cont./

Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to [648] certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

776
778

2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

/145 cont./

776 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child
778 who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San
778 Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous
823 water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the
776 only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have
embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching
of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need
be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless,
[761] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing
has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when
they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very super-
776 stitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places
where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were
[761] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would
[753] soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a
true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his
affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

154 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers.
156 This belief, however, is much more general. The working man
accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is
in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who
is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America,
as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest
Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal
pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the
Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing
illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 756 [825] 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the
birds, Gũiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

754
756 /147 cont./

731
[825] According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and
[776] the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825
787
763 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call Teté walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765 1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756
754 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754
761 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/148 cont./

754 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where
761 God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the
creation.

754 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something
753 the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other
part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others
622 for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a
623 Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has
643 appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of
571 the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to
731 be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The
755 first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers.
Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very
756 great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make
554 him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there
731 is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another
town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/149 cont./

755 embassy to the sorcerer is the cacique, and his
756 companions limit themselves to saying Añete,
554 that is how it is, just as the altar boy or sacristan
731 says amen.

756 Of course, his arrival is awaited anxiously. All surround
554 him in order to welcome him and give him demonstrations of
574 affection. There is no family which will not bring him whatever
731 it can so that he may cure well. Cooked chickens, boiled eggs,
[178] live lambs, and plenty of chicha are all presents for the great
rascal. All of this is still done for any sorcerer.

755 After a short rest, a good meal, and better refreshments,
756 the sorcerer opens his ceremonial with numerous questions in
731 order to try to discover who brought the epidemic to the town,
in case it has come in already. If so, he continues in this way
and his exorcisms are daily, general for the town, and special
for each sick person, as I shall say farther on.

But if the sickness has not come in, he gathers together all of the principal men, they make cigars of tobacco wrapped in maize husks, gather in a circle, light the cigars, and blow smoke in every direction, the sorcerer observing which way the smoke is going. When the location is more or less known, they all go there, club in hand. The sorcerer makes a small excavation and takes from it the charm which he has put there beforehand without being seen; it consists of old, dirty rags mixed with hairs and small bones. Then he burns all that in the presence of the company, strikes the ground with his club and feet, being imitated by all (2).

2. It is not uncommon that the sorcerers themselves take the clothing of persons with smallpox from one town to another in order that the contagion may spread and that they may have some pretext for profit and a life full of gifts.

/149 cont./

755 This done, they return to the town with an air of triumph
756 and pass through all of it, raining blows with their clubs on the
731 corners of the plaza and the houses of the most notable persons,
and, the performance ended, he directs his discourse to those who surround him and the others who have come out of their houses. He tells them that they must not be afraid and that they should have confidence in him, for the illness over which he is the master has been dispelled.

He then takes a rest from his labors for several days, takes his leave of the cacique and the principal men, blessed by the frightened inhabitants, and returns to his town. Anyone can understand that, if there is no epidemic, it is a coincidence which will give considerable renown to the rascally impostor, and, if there is one, the blame falls on the townspeople or on some other /150/ bad sorcerer. Then he returns and becomes the healer for all of them. In smallpox epidemics the sorcerer is always one who has had it and who as a sad sign thereof has his face and his nose covered with pox.

755 In the first months after I arrived at the Santa Rosa Mission,
756 an epidemic began to break out; without my realizing what was
731 happening, exorcisms against the smallpox were being carried
164 out by the sorcerer Biringa, but as this disease had thoroughly
invaded the town by the end of the year, he returned and paid well for his deceits; his threats that he would make the 255 male students of the school perish were of no avail since both they and the female students became sick, but only one of the boys and seven of the girls died (1).

1. The girls of the Santa Rosa school numbered 235 in the year of the smallpox; those who were dangerously sick received the viaticum before they were taken to the lazaretto. Those about to die even received Extreme Unction in the lazaretto. In January of 1904 there were more than 500 persons in the latter.

/150 cont./

756 789 731 821 [797] Even for rain the sorcerers perform their incantations with their maize-husk cigar, making a turn in the planted fields, but if the drought is general, the incantations are public performed in the town in front of the house of the principal cacique. One of these was performed in the early days of the above-mentioned mission. The missionary had admonished them to stop it, but when they answered insolently, he formed or organized a commission with shotguns and old rifles. The three or four sorcerers fled, but one of them fell into the hands of the commission, was punished for his insolence, and in a few minutes a torrential shower refreshed the entire territory of the mission.

756 755 In concrete cases, when the sorcerer is required by a particular family, he establishes himself in the house of the sick man; he asks him a thousand questions regarding the sickness, the houses that he has frequented, the friends with whom he has drunk, the companions with whom he has played, and the things that he has earned. Then he lights his maize-husk cigar and smokes, blowing the smoke over the body of the patient, especially the affected part.

Then, depending on the greater or lesser seriousness of the illness, depending on the nature of the disease, whether it requires blows or joltings, which is the most likely, he delivers them so atrociously that they are likely to end the patient's life, and if not he is content with rubbing the affected part hard /151/ and sucking it with his mouth, extracting from the patient's body the worms which the rascal has hidden in his mouth (1).

[164] 1. In many cases worms can be found in the bodies of these Indians between the flesh and the skin. I myself, with the use of fenelina, have made worms as big as chickpeas come out of their bodies, without their having had any wound at all.

/151 cont./

155 156 Men sorcerers use in their cures, in addition to the cigar, the tupicho. But what the tupicho consists of is difficult to determine. There are sorcerers who use for it a little round stone with some designs on it; according to what I saw in the San Pascual Mission, others use a long bone likewise bearing designs, and, as I saw in Caipipendi and other places, others make do with words alone. The value of the tupicho is not known, but the Indians have much fear of it. I could tell stories about this.

Sorceress Curers

156 There is no doubt about the existence of female curers and sorcereresses, who, like the men, are feared in the tribe, because it is easier for them to administer some slow or violent poison in drinks. They are designated by the name Cuña ipaye, sorceress (2).

> 2. I know several women who are curers and sorceresses at the same time; at least they are considered as such by the Indians of the tribe.

Generally these women are the daughters of sorcerers, but this does not prevent others from being one also. They cure sick men or women with wild herbs, tree bark, and roots which they dig out of the ground. They are in this case true curers, as are certain women among the whites.

156 844 159 There are others, and plenty of them; it can be said that every old mother is one for her young daughters. They serve as midwives; they help their daughters and other women in their deliveries. Some of them are so skilled that they are accepted by the women whom the Indians call ladies. During the time when I was living among the Chiriguano, I saw only three die in childbirth.

156 278 682 The only thing which is deplorable among these curers is the use of Mbayachi, a poison that they administer with much dissimulation, mixing it with chicha and giving it to persons whom they hate, immediately washing or hiding the gourd, glass, or cup in which they administered it to the patient.

/151 cont./

156 278 682 Mbayachi works quite slowly because in general /152/ the sorceress who administers it is careful to infuse in the drink a small quantity so as to avoid its being discovered by the relatives, but if the hated person has none, or the ones he has are very distant in degree or are of little worth, she gives him a strong dose which dispatches him to eternity in a few hours.

The patient who has had the misfortune to drink the poison begins to feel the effect at once: stomach pains, retching, and other known effects. The poison is consumed little by little, and he remains in this state for two or three years, leading a most painful existence, which is shared by the members of the family in their sadness, as they experience all of the burden of the long illness.

Mbayachi is nothing but a poison, and inasmuch as it can be administered among civilized peoples, there is no reason whatsoever to deny that savages can administer it, since they do not fear human or divine laws, take vengeance as a holy thing, and are only with great difficulty discovered (1).

[627] [628] 1. The Indian is not content until he has taken revenge on his enemy: when he achieves it, he says: ayepi ma hese, I have avenged myself on him.

Way to Obtain the Poison

156 278 The way to provide oneself with poison is as follows, according to what Guarerai says: The sorceress goes out into the country without telling anyone her purpose. She takes with her a receptacle which generally consists of a little clay jar perforated in the upper part. She goes into the dense woods or forest, where nobody can discover her, covers up her ears and nostrils with cotton and her hands with rags, and undresses completely, so that nothing may disturb her in her work.

/152 cont./

756 Then she[1] waits for some viper to come into sight, and, if
278 it is long in coming, she makes it appear by imitating its hiss.
825 When she sees it, she does not run away or become frightened, but instead, with all the calm in the world, she kills it with a stick, or better with a piece of hollow cane, hangs it from a low bush, and then, from the head down, pours over it chicha oil, which mixes with the venom secreted by the viper. She applies the little jar to the tip of the tail and collects the first venom (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. She cuts off the tip of the tail so that the poison is not left inside the body of the snake. The oil serves to agglomerate the poison and to facilitate the draining.

/153/ If it turns out to be very little, she calls another viper, imitating its hiss, and sometimes as many as five of them come, and she does with them what she did with the first one, until she has obtained enough. She works at this for four or five days; she goes very early and returns late, and when the operation is over, she buries the dead snakes, erases her tracks, gets dressed again, hiding the little jar in her breast, and returns to town as fresh as can be, carrying on her shoulders, and hung from her head a sling full of stems or tree roots, or, if they are in season, algarrobas or some other fruit; the latter are preferred.

756 Venom thus prepared is very pernicious, and in order to
278 administer it in a small dose, it suffices to dampen in it the end of a straw and wash it in the gourd of chicha which the enemy is invited to take. Sorceresses prepare the best chicha, which is called Copiriru, recooked chicha, and, since the Chiriguano is a glutton, he easily falls into the trap, under the pretext of a reconciliation. The method used by the sorceresses to obtain the venom has been discovered because on occasion they have broken the ties of friendship with some intimate friend or kinship with some sister, who knew the secret (1).

1. Sorceresses who possess venom are known; one who wishes to take revenge on an enemy

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 210]

[1] [i.e., the sorceress.-Analyst]

Vista de la Misión de
San Antonio

Mission House of San Antonio del Parapití

/153 cont./

756 278 and does not know how to do it goes to the sorcerers, pays them, and obtains it.

This seems to be a fable which in itself does not merit any importance, as indeed it is not given any by Father Giannecchini, who does not deny it in his writings, as Señor del Campano states. Poison exists among the Chiriguano. They do not extract it from chamico, which is a species of datura, nor do they extract it from other plants or herbs. The sorcerers reveal nothing; the young people do not know about it, and the few old people who are alive only tell what has been said above. Be that as it may, this is a belief of the tribe, and as such I have told it.

Lunar Eclipse

821 One night while waiting for a lunar eclipse, I found myself in conversation with the cacique Aiduari of the mission of San Buenaventura de Ivo, and I was reminded of something which I remembered regarding this phenomenon which was about to occur on the moon. Chiriguano towns are true bells during an eclipse, because of the drums, cries, whistles, and every warlike instrument which they use to make noise. When I came to the missions, /154/ the war of Curuyuqui had just happened, and when I heard so much and such an extraordinary hubbub on the night of an eclipse, I believed that it was a new uprising, as was also believed by the inhabitants of Cuevo, who came out armed to find out the cause of so much noise (1).

[114] [645]

391 533 114 1. The Italian professor Mantegazza states that the Chiriguano, in order to whistle loudly, take out the tembeta or button which they have in their lower lip. This is incorrect and denied by all; what the renowned anthropologist refers to must be a special case, since they cannot even drink without the button.

/154 cont./

993
62
[115]

I asked Anduari the cause of such an uproar, and he told me the following story. The jaguar had sworn to destroy the Chiriguano, as had also the Aguara-Tunpa. The Tunpa, who knows everything and always compassionate toward them, told this to his relatives, who are in the sky and who are called Güirayohasa, the constellation of the Pleiades. These relatives then informed those who were in danger, and they took the precaution of hiding themselves.

Nevertheless, two of the most valiant Chiriguano, in order not to be in continual fear, prepared to put an end to the jaguars. They went out into the countryside, made themselves two long swords of soto wood, and thus armed, they found out where the jaguars drank water. They hid, watching for the arrival of their enemies in order to slay their leader.

They did not have to wait long; when all of them came by and when the leader put his head down to drink from the spring of crystalline water, one of the Chiriguano delivered a great blow on his head with the sword, separating it from the body; with the utmost facility the rest of them fled in several directions, and the head, jumping, disappeared from their presence.

It was pursued by both warriors, but the head prayed to the moon, which it encountered on its way, and the moon took pity and hid it in its breast, and when the warriors arrived and inquired about the jaguar's head, the moon answered in all calmness that it knew nothing and had seen nothing. Naturally they had no faith in its words, and they went away from there, saying to it that one day the tiger would be seen and everyone would know who it was (7).

> 7. When the chief of the jaguars disappeared, the latter were finished and there was calm, the Indians being able to go out once more without fear to their tasks in the fields.

When the young men were far away, the moon rejoined the jaguar's head to its body, and it lived, but it no longer wished to live on earth /155/ for fear of its enemies, preferring to remain with its liberator, reviver, and benefactor, but later it made its ferocity known.

/155 cont./

773
821
As the Chiriguano had predicted, the jaguar very soon began to put into practice in the heights of the moon its natural inclination to kill and eat defenseless beings. Its peaceful, compassionate, and defenseless liberator lent itself marvelously to its voracity, and the tiger attacked it, but the moon came crying to the inhabitants of the earth, to the Chiriguano, calling them to its defense, if they did not wish to remain eternally in the dark (1).

> 1. If the eclipse is total, they believe that the jaguar has swallowed the moon whole; if it is partial, this is because it did not have time to swallow it.

The Indians, despite the bad deed that the moon had done against them, and more for their convenience than out of compassion, came out of their towns en masse, some with shouts others with whistling, and others with the horns of cows and bulls; they frightened off the Yagua rogũi, yellow jaguar, who out of fear of the Chiriguano, remembering what had happened to it, desisted from its intention, and since then, every time a lunar eclipse occurs, they do the same thing. The fabulous belief passes from the old to the young, from grandfathers to grandsons.

114
821
[191]
On a bright moonlit night the missionary was sleeping peacefully in the Ivu mission, and the moon was obscured by a total eclipse. This was during the month of June in 1909. The missionary did not know the language, and I was absent. The children, who spoke a little Spanish, in their desire for the missionary to see the phenomenon of the eclipse, awakened him with a great uproar, shouting to him: Jaguar is eating moon (2).

> 2. They say nothing of the eclipse, total or partial, of the sun, doubtless because it occurs very rarely; the old people have but an obscure idea of this phenomenon.

/155 cont./

771 I shall end this fourth chapter by repeating that the Chiriguano in his religion, divinities, and beliefs confuses in extraordinary fashion beings who are good and bad, real and imaginary, as well as fabulous beliefs which conform in substance to certain Biblical tales. The Indian eats, drinks, and [156] [182] sleeps, and he lives like any four-legged animal; he thinks only of the sorcerer, consulting him in his emergencies of illness or want and other calamities, believing that he has the power to alleviate it, there not being any prayer properly speaking.

/156/

000

Chapter Five

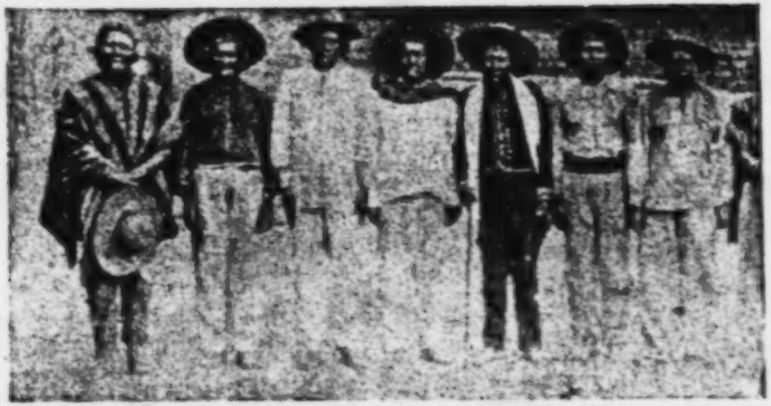
Political Organization and Authorities

Introduction

The French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century set the foundations for the present anarchy with the dethroning and decapitation of the unfortunate and virtuous rulers Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. /The remainder of p. 156 and the first two paragraphs of p. 157 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 157. The remainder of p. 157 follows./

Let it thus be understood that in this Catholic nation /Bolivia/ only the Catholic religion can contain the fury of the human beast. Let the religious orders and the Colegios de Propaganda Fide be promoted, as in the bordering nations, let firm support be given to the Catholics, as in Germany, and there will neither be the explosion of anarchist bombs nor will the heads of the rulers roll through the streets and squares, nor will the corpses of the great lie stiff, victims of the revolver or the sword of shadowy men.

790
622
291



Group of Caciques from the Ivo Mission

/157 cont./

Principle of Authority

600 The principle of authority is innate in humankind and to attempt to destroy it is madness. Ever since man came into the world, the principle of authority has existed, as can clearly be read in /158/ Genesis: Sub viri potestate eris et ipse dominabitur tui: thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee.

As it is innate in humankind, through guilt more than through necessity in the beginning, the said principle has always been in effect everywhere. There is no nation, no matter how barbarous, which does not recognize this principle as a necessity, and to attempt to destroy it, as the anarchists wish to do, is to wish for the impossible. The Tubicha, great one or authority, say the old Indians, emanates from God himself, and that is why it begins with the same letter. The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 214/ shows several caciques of the San Buenaventura Mission; only the one in the frock coat and cane (Anduari) did not take part in the uprising at Curuyuqui (1).

[551] 1. The Indians in the illustration are; Asicayu, Asucari, Periquiyu, and Guarerai to the right of the cacique Anduari; Chipa and Patiri, or Patricio, at the left.

648 The entire region has today been explored and is under the power of the whites, who first entered with the permission of the owner (ab immemorabili), and after having taken possession, they have made themselves owners, buying lands as
619 property of the nation. Some might believe that the Chiriguano
361 liked to live in great centers, when it is known that formerly
[622] they were very numerous, but one who passes through the territory
[643] will soon understand that each tribe is at most made up of some 40 families and that in each tribe there is a cacique who is dependent upon another greater one, whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great of the great. In one league of territory or even less, an explorer, or passer-by, or sojourner can still find four or five Chiriguano Tribes at short distances.

/158 cont./

000 361 or five Chiriguano tribes at short distances. The only large town that I found on my travels is Membirai, which is joined to [114] [621] Choreti guasu on the left bank of the Parapiti. I know Caipipendi, where I often slept; the Indians are many, but they live in different places, forming groups of 15 or 20 families (2).

797 619 361 2. The beautiful Santa Rosa Mission was formed by bringing together into a single town more than ten small tribes which voluntarily, with their caciques, moved to the place shown them by the missionary. In Yumbía there are three small tribes a very short distance apart.

Attributes of the Cacique

622

Just as in a family there is the authority of the father who governs it, or, should he be absent, that of the mother, who looks after and cares for the proper /159/ rearing of the children so that they may grow properly and not commit disorders or start fights with one another, thus also in every town or tribe there is a Tubicha, great one, whom I shall call cacique, so that my readers may understand that the Great One is a person of authority and prestige. The attributes of the cacique are multiple; when an epidemic has broken out or is about to break out in the tribe, it is he who seeks out the sorcerer to dispel it. If the tribe is suffering a drought, he goes to the master of the rain, who is another sorcerer (1).

[631] [643] 1. In each tribe there is but one cacique; many caciques are under a regional cacique who can dismiss the lower ones.

[262] [273] At the time of planting, while the people of the tribe sleep or rest in their homes, he goes out to the small plaza or in front of his house and, walking about, holds forth to the town, encouraging it to sow sufficient maize so that when it is ripe there

/159 cont./
622 may be general rejoicing with the drinking of the pretasted
[262] Cangũi, chicha, squash and beans to eat together with Aticũi,
[273] meal, and Atipĩi, parched corn. In his prolonged discourse
he recommends union in labor so that it may soon be finished, since the field of the cacique is planted first and then those of the rest, with all of them helping one another. When I came to the missions, the soldiers of the cacique Gũiraesa still did it in this way. I shall speak of this cacique and his family in another chapter.

622 The cacique also arbitrates the arguments which frequently
692 arise in the planting season, since even among these people
there reigns covetousness of the property of others, should it be good and free of brush; he settles family disputes, admonishing the parents and also their children. If a theft occurs, it is also he who makes claims before the cacique of the neighboring tribe, but if this should occur within his own, he will summarily administer justice. His sentence is absolute and in general not subject to appeal (2).

[797] 2. There are several caciques in the missions, because they are made up of several tribes. The missionary governs them all, with the result that the authority of the caciques is almost nominal.

721 It frequently happens that, as a result of some affront done
to some woman of a tribe, a bloody war begins, which assumes
the characteristics of a regional one. This happened during the
[643] 1850's in the Cuevo region. The cacique Gũiracoti tried without
[837] success to have relations with the wife of Yaveau, cacique of the
right bank of the stream of Cuevo. In revenge the offended man disposed of a head of cattle belonging to /160/ Gũiracoti; hostilities were then declared and each cacique prepared for war.

/160 cont./

721 648 Gũiracoti was inferior to Yaveau in number of soldiers and in personal valor, but with his lies he obtained the assistance of the Indians of Yuti, Choreti, and Parapiti Grande, and even of the whites who had entered the Cordillera country and were living in Lagunillas (1).

> 1. Gũiracoti led the whites to believe that Yaveau was intending to rebel against them; hence he was able to get the regional cacique of the Parapiti, called Chituri, to come with him.

726 727 [648] The large number of the enemy sowed panic in the camp of Yaveau, who, along with many others, had joined up the Toba. The first battle was lost, and he had to hide with his people on the slopes and hill of Irentà, but, once recovered from the defeat which he had suffered through the superiority in numbers and differences in arms and in races, he soon went in search of the enemy, inflicting numerous casualties among them, and Gũiracoti had to leave his tribe, retiring to the left bank of the Parapiti River, in order not to fall into his rival's hands and be run through by his powerful arrow and have the misfortune of having his head separated from his body, which on the point of a spear, would have been exposed to the ridicule of large and small in the enemy camp.

622 574 It is natural for men passing through a strange town to go to the political authority for their needs, as happens in the missions. Many people when they pass through Indian towns, naturally go to the cacique's house; the latter receives those whom he considers greater with the kindness and courtesy that distinguish the Indians of the Chiriguano race; for this reason some explorers have believed that it is the duty of the cacique to receive and provide hospitality for transients and strangers, but I can state that they are mistaken.

/160 cont./

574 The Chiriguano is naturally hospitable, and the stranger is welcomed in any hut of an Indian; he considers himself privileged to receive great persons, equals, and inferiors in his hut, which he at once moves out of in the case of the first, accomodating himself in the plaza or in the corridor, and renders him every service within his ability. The woman brings him water and cooks for him, and the man brings firewood and even takes out to pasture the animals with which he is to continue his trip.

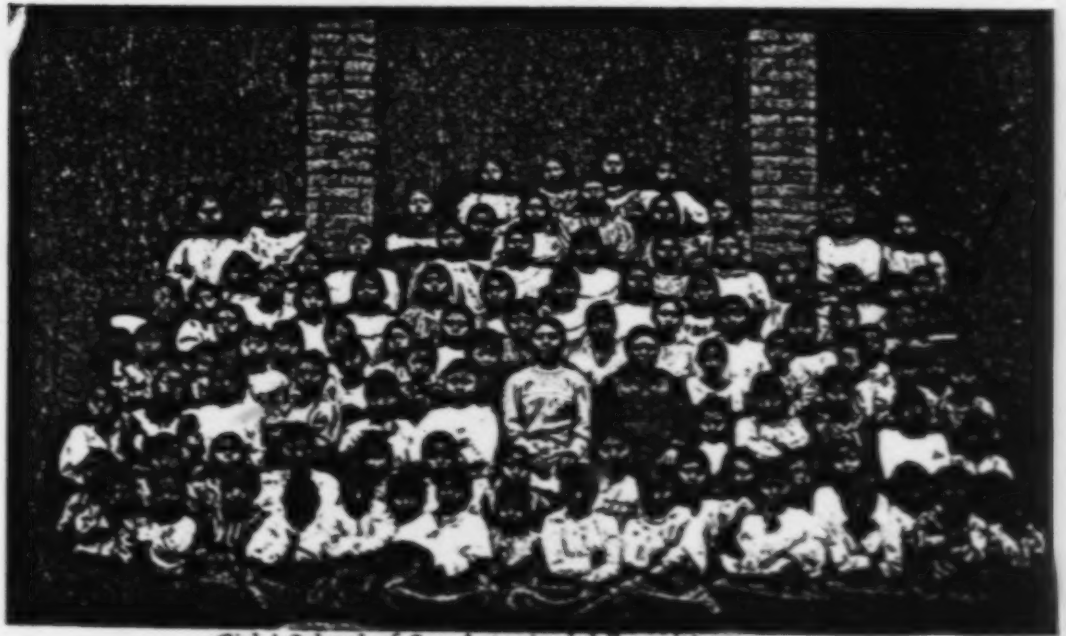
574 178 [431] [273] If the Chiriguano has anything available, such as eggs, chickens, etc., he asks nothing for them and is quite happy if the stranger /illustration appears here/ /161/ gives him whatever he wants to when he takes his leave. If he has any of his pretasted liquor available, the first thing that he presents to his guest is a cup of this beverage. But today the situation is causing changes in their simple customs because of the refined ones of the civilized person, who has taught him to sell a chicken for as much as one boliviano. It is no longer as it once was, because his home was not respected (1).

1. Today they receive friends and acquaintances with respect and affection, because some guests or transients took advantage of the native by demanding things or persons to which they had no right.

622 527 [221] It is also a duty of the cacique to determine the time when the fiestas or public drinking sessions are to begin and their duration; these are generally held before and after planting, before and after harvest. If the rain increases and the previous harvest was very scant, the planting is advanced so that the maize will mature earlier and they will have something to drink for Easter. 622 224 During the other months of the year the cacique directs the public fiestas, the general hunts for jabalíes /wild boar/, quiriquinchos, /ostriches/, deer, chuñas /cranes/, and other wild animals (2).

293 824 171 2. Whenever and wherever maize does not grow in quantity, the Chiriguano imitates the Toba

[Text Continues on p. 221]



Girls' School of San Antonio del Parapiti

797
8711

4: Nino--220 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/161 cont./

273 824 171 and the Mataco; thus the fruit of the chañar, mistol, and algarroba are used in the manufacture of chicha.

Subalterns

621 623 The cacique of a tribe is not alone in political, judicial, and administrative administration. In order to have a more correct administration, he, as sole and supreme authority, selects counselors and assistants, whom he seeks from among the most competent persons of the tribe. The primary advisors are whatever sorcerers there may be; these men are thus feared and hence respected by the people, who make use of them in sickness and calamity, both public and private.

621 624 554 Next in rank as counselors come other men to whom they give the name Igüira iya, owner of the stick or baton, according to the signification of the word and which corresponds in Spanish to hombre de mando ó autoridad /man in command or authority/. Thus they are the alcaldes, to whom the cacique hands over part of his authority with absolute subordination, so that through complaints, ineptitude, or other causes, the alcaldes are summarily dismissed and then others appointed. In each tribe there is a single alcalde who does everything, because the cacique, in his town, is better than an emperor, not having to lift a straw and spending his time in prolonged idleness.

/162/ The alcaldes in the tribes take charge of the rest of the settlers; in a search for peons they hear the sarcasms and recriminations of their fellows, and many times they definitely disobey them, even going so far as to insult them with: Mburubicha pa nde? Perhaps you are a cacique?" (1)

---

1. In the missions with many tribes there are as many caciques and alcaldes as there are tribes composing them. In this regard the custom of the Indians has been respected for a better and more honest administration.

/162 cont./

Abuse of Authority

622
661
643
The Indians who today live under the paternal rule of the missionaries state that formerly caciques committed thousands of abuses; speaking of caciques still alive, they said that they abused everything that belonged to the poor and defenseless Indians, made use of maidens and women of others took possession of horses, cows, sheep, goats, and rags or clothing of their subordinates under any pretext, and in certain cases, as absolute mandatory, life was not safe either.

682 In verification of the last, I am going to relate the following: Before the reorganization of the missions of San Antonio and San Francisco del Parapiti Grande, an Indian strangled his own son and half buried him in the sand near the bank with the aim that any sizable rise would soon carry him off, but before this could happen the deed was discovered, not by betrayal by his wife, whom he had threatened to kill, but by the wheeling about of vultures which were beginning to strip the already decomposing flesh (2).

[643] 2. The murderer of his own son belonged to the upper town and was hanged in public in the lower town where the regional cacique, who was the authority of the presumed Parapiti Canton, resided.

692
643
682
When the regional cacique had been advised, inquiries were undertaken in order to speak to the evil-doer, and it was not difficult to find him because he was a well-known Indian. Taken into custody and brought before the authority, he confessed his crime. In order to prevent another greater crime the canton [649] authority attempted to intervene, but the regional cacique made it clear to him that justice would be administered in an exemplary fashion by him and that the corregidor, whose subalterns were the whites, should not involve himself in the matter at all.

/163/

643 For these reasons the authority yielded and left it to the
682 cacique to deal with the culprit as he deemed best, following
692 his barbarous customs. Rather than complicate matters, the
cacique had two forked sticks of medium height set up, with
another piece of wood set between them. He called together
all the inhabitants of both towns and in their presence in broad
daylight condemned him to the gallows, and the execution was
[671] immediately performed. The cacique has no written laws; he
does everything by tradition and applies punishments such as the
one related as a deterrent to others, to remove evil from his
region, so that the life of the defenseless and the good may be
respected and that he may be feared (1).

622 1. When a sorcerer does not manage to ac-
643 complish what he has promised, because he
756 perhaps did not help him, it is the cacique's
686 prerogative to order the death sentence and
692 burning.

Separation from Command

622
631 The dismissal of a cacique is a very simple thing when the
643 abuses he commits are unbearable. In epochs prior to the
present time, the oppressed Indians were beginning to withdraw
from their obedience to other peoples, and since the latter find
it difficult to be able to live in strange lands, they ended up by
having recourse to the regional cacique, who in turn declared
them free from such obedience, naming another more humane
person of the same tribe or who had resided for some time in it.
649 This has become easier today by agreement with the political
466 authority of the Republic, but there is the greater problem that
when an abusive cacique has been dismissed and another named
464 by the political authority, he is sure to be subject to all the
622 demands of the whites to provide them with peons, and the
643 latter, who do not like the yoke of the caray /white man/, become impatient and emigrate.

/163 cont./

643 649 464 466 A fact that confirms what has been said happened in the Caipipendi region. The regional cacique Tengua was succeeded by his son Cariti, who, because of the grave errors that he made or was supposed to have made, was dismissed, and the native Tarúire, who apparently at least had very good qualities, was named in his place. This latter, selected by the whites with the consent or nomination of the Indians, had to return the favor of his benefactors who had elevated him and consequently to respond to all the demands and requests for peons, and one time the poor Indians had to go to Santa Cruz as a guarantee for the /164/ unhappy Indians who feared that, under the pretext of jobs in the city, they would be taken to the Beni (1).

[566] 1. In El Beni men are sold for 1,000 Bs. and women at a lesser price. Baron D. Erland Nordenskiold gave a lecture in London proving that slavery exists in Bolivia and Peru.

This concern of Tarúire and suspicion of the Indians originated in a publicly known event which took place in the year 1905, when a party of Indians sold to the rubber plantations were taken from there; rumors of this event spread rapidly through all the newspapers of the Republic, which expressed disapproval of it, and at that time I saw whole groups of families who, with all of their possessions, emigrated to other lands.

643 641 554 The result of this is that today many Indians obey Tarúire, not out of love or loyalty, but out of fear of the harsh punishment which the political authorities would immediately impose on them; and the cacique is now beginning to tire of this task which is so odious for him, for he wants to be tranquil in his home and to enjoy peace. He has repeatedly said this to me and he would be satisfied if they would renominate Cariti, for whom the Indians hold proper respect.

/164 cont./

622
643
648
566
46
Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the cacique of a large number of Indians, like Tarüire, derives great benefits from his office. While the annoyances are continuous, the income is regular, because generally the carai who makes a request for peons always gives their daily pay to the cacique and alcaldes, and if the former visits them in their houses, they save certain considerations for him in the interest of obtaining peons in the future: interest can do much (2).

> 2. They keep everything they receive from the whites to buy liquor and little for their clothing.

62
595
It would be a very rare case if a Chiriguano cacique did not have issue, it being known that each one lives with several women, privately and publicly, in his own and other tribes, and this is not only the privilege of the caciques: even the subalterns are polygamous. They often marry a widow in order later also to be with the stepdaughter with the knowledge of her mother, who consents to it through fear, out of concern for food, or for a miserable garment (3).

[797]

> 3. The vice of polygamy is being pursued in the missions, not only among the Indians but even among the caciques: some admonition should come first, however, to convince them and make them understand the ugliness of the vice.

622
[555]
[556]
/165/ Upon the death of the cacique of a tribe, the oldest son then succeeds, but, if in fact he dies without issue, the closest relative takes command, or, lacking one of these, some prestigious brother-in-law, if he is liked by the tribe; otherwise someone in the town who combines the best qualities in his person is chosen, and if an Indian enjoys some good fortune in cattle, sheep, horses, etc., he is the chosen one, who is respected and obeyed because of the goods that he has at his disposal for guests and even for treating his subalterns (1).

[661]

> 1. When a cacique is completely poor, he

/165 cont./

622
661

> may be considered the scourge of the tribe, and, as an absolute ruler, he takes from the belongings of his soldiers whatever he wants for himself and for the guests who visit him.

622
562

Very rarely does a woman take command and control of the tribe; this can happen if the cacique who dies leaves only women as heirs, but only with great difficulty does the Chiriguano allow himself to be ruled by a woman; the other tribes would laugh at them and would treat them like women; Salic law is in force among the Chiriguano (?).

> 2. Nevertheless, there are cases when the law of the Salians has been supended among the Chiriguano. The woman Iguandúsai governed in Ivu, Parapoti in Aquío, and a certain Arabúsai is mentioned by del Campano.

643

The Regional Cacique

In addition to the cacique, whom the people of a tribe distinguish with the name of Mburubicha, great one, there is another, higher authority whom they call Tubicha rubicha, great one of the great ones, or cacique of the caciques. The great cacique resides in a larger tribe and leads it directly like the other caciques, having alcaldes and counselors.

643
622

The great cacique intervenes and is consulted with regard to the succession of the subaltern caciques; for this reason the sons of the latter always accompany their fathers on the visits they make and try to get the great cacique to like them, in order to succeed their fathers in power, but if the tribe does not want him and furthermore his faults are so notorious and serious as to eliminate him from the honor, the regional cacique very tactfully makes him understand this, adding that by reforming his life he could be chosen again on a day not far off.

/165 cont./

643 [721] In the case of a regional war against another region, the great cacique calls a parliament and consults all the caciques, /166/ counselors, and sorcerers in order to arrange matters perfectly and avoid surprises. 643 701 729 When the war has broken out, as he is the most important man, he takes charge of the battles, even leading them personally to a successful conclusion, and, should a defeat be suffered, he does not cringe in defeat, but prepares anew, encourages his soldiers to fight more vigorously to take revenge, and is unlikely to suffer another defeat. This is what happened in the regional war of the great cacique Güiracoti against Yaveau, in which, the latter having been defeated by the former, as I have already related, he retired to the slopes of Ibenta and from there marched on his enemies, causing numerous casualties and obtaining a complete victory (1).

[648] 1. In the Curuyuqui War there was a cacique named Chaparilla and another named Tumpa, but, as this war was againg the whites, Tumpa took charge of the military operations.

643 631 Chituri, a regional cacique, was succeeded by his son, the late Azari, in the entire region of the Parapiti Grande, Itatiqui, Tacuaremti, and Ururigua. Yaveau was obeyed by all the Indians of Itiyuro, Curuyuqui, Ivu, Igüipiuta, and those of Santa Rosa, living on the right bank of the Cuevo River; subject to Güiracoti were all those living on the left bank of the same river as far as the right bank of the Parapiti; the subjects of the late Tongua were the Indians of the left bank of the same *Parapiti up to Cutiarrani; the subalterns of Machirope were, as* was told me in the same year 1901, all the Indians of Ingre Canton, Igüembe, and Huacaya from the right bank of the Parapiti to the left bank of the Pilcomayo, which includes an area of 24 leagues from north to south and 15 east to west, and when an effort was made to found a mission in Yumbía, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo, Igüembe Canton, he insisted to me that we should not bother them any more because neither he nor the

/166 cont./

643
[631]
Indians wanted it (?).

> 9. The regional cacique Tengua died in 1900, Machirope in 1904, and the others who have been named in the middle of the nineteenth century, except Chiruí. Beringai of Igüembe is considered a regional cacique without being one; he is the oldest known Indian, at least among the caciques.

Today only one of the former regional caciques is still living. This is Mandepínai, who must be about 84 years old, a very robust and obese Indian with a constitution of iron. His authority extends throughout the Gran Chaco. He is respected and obeyed up to a certain point by the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, and other known races; he is very well received in the other regions through which he passes, and his authority is not contradicted elsewhere, but is not respected either, /167/ because at the present time the Chiriguano element too has almost radically changed its political system; today it is the political authority which rules, and the cacique is a humble servant of any caray who comes to him asking for peons.

643
797
728
668
662
The Macharetí Mission exists through his efforts, and he has always been faithful to the missionaries. In the Curuyuqui War, the Tumpa tried to get Mandepínai to use his influence to make the Toba and Chiriguano of his region revolt, as Tengua did, but the great cacique was not to be moved; instead he and his people went over to the side of the Santa Rosa Mission and the white Christians who had taken refuge in it.

At that time some whites, perhaps because of their hate for the missionaries of Macharetí, tried to implicate Mandepínai as an accomplice of the Tumpa, but this calumny was belied by his praiseworthy procedure. He gave warning of the day on which the rebels were to burn the mission, went personally with his soldiers to Santa Rosa on January 27, before the final battle, and there confronted Tengua, accusing him of treason to the whites. His loyalty to the missionaries is to his glory.

/167 cont./

643
643
624
772
662

and when he addresses his people he does not fail to remind them that if they enjoy peace they owe it to him, for he consented to the founding of their mission; more or less the same thing is said by other caciques or their successors, through whose influence the missions have been founded (1).

1. When the slander against Mandepúmai was believed, the delegate Chavarría went to Machareti with all his forces to punish the cacique, but nothing came of it because it all turned out to be false.

/168/

658

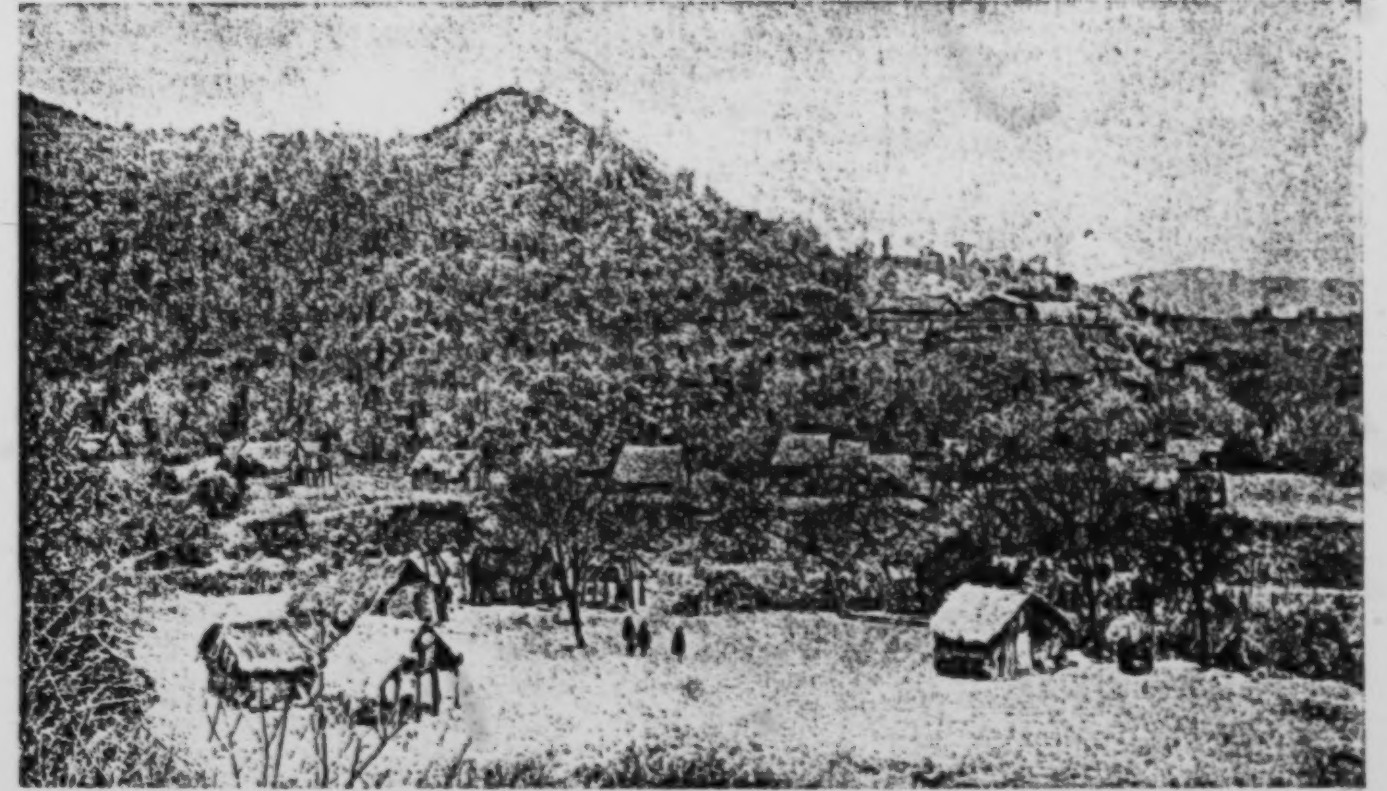
Chapter Six

Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction

The glacial period and horrible icy places with their new flora and fauna in the dawn of the Quaternary era, a mysterious period for certain modern unbelievers, holds no mystery whatsoever for true believers, who see in it, or in its sudden appearance, a punishment for the disobedience of the first man. Adam sins, and the land, until then so beautiful and fecund, is covered with snows and ice, with brambles and briars; before his sin, no shelter was needed, but, as a result of rebellion against the Creator, he was laden with needs. /The remainder of the introduction on pp. 168-169 is omitted. The following illustration appears opposite p. 169. The remainder of p. 169 follows./

133
342
361



Chiriguano Town

/169 cont./

Towns

It is thus stated in the Holy Scriptures that man from the
beginning began to build towns, and all the descendants of
the first inhabitants of the earth have followed their example.
186 I believe that my readers have learned that the Chiriguano are
different from the other natives who surround them; they consider the Toba and the Mataco to be very inferior, so inferior
that they scorn and despise the ornaments and varied feathers
that the latter use.

36 / 171 The Chiriguano also, as descendants of the first men, love society and like to live in company, in more or less large towns, in well-formed towns, with houses around a plaza, in contrast to other tribes which, in spite of being sociable, form towns as quickly as they disappear, according to need. Thus it happens that wherever they know that there is food, the Toba and the other nomadic races go there; if they are helping a missionary, they abandon him when the algarrobas, the chañar, and the mistol are ripe (2).

> 2. Polygamy in the world began with Lamec. From Ada, his first wife, he took Fael who lived in cabins; it seems that the nomadic tribes of America are descendants of his.

I have witnessed both cases, the first in the Tigüipa Mission, where on the right bank of its little river three tribes had gathered in 1905, making their miserable round huts with a few stakes, with branches covered with grass, in which men and women, old and young, and dogs covered with mange lived together. I witnessed the second in the mission of San Antonio del Pilcomayo in 1900 when, the algarrobas already being ripe, some 68 Mataco families disappeared, running off into the woods to seek a life of gifts and surrender themselves to drink and dishonesty, turning their backs on the religion which some of them had embraced.

/169 cont./

In both cases the ranchos which had been formed were left destroyed, despite the fact that the latter, because they had been built under the direction of the missionary, were quite comfortable, new, and /170/ well covered with red straw /paja colorada/, which is the best for the construction of ranchos.

731
361 The Chiriguano Indian does not do this. He also on occasion suffers from a scarcity of supplies, because the land on which he lives produces harvests only when there is no lack of rain. In times of scarcity he bars the door of his house
[574] with poles or thorns, temporarily leaves his town, and goes off to distant lands in search of food, gets it, and brings it to his home, but he does not emigrate en masse, nor does he build temporary huts in a foreign place or town, and if he has any relatives in the places where there is abundant food, he seeks them out and is welcomed and well treated by them. He remains there for weeks and even months, until his fellows are tired of him, and then he takes his leave, taking the little food that is offered to him as something precious, and in fact it is in times of hunger.

361 Chiriguano towns are small, consisting of a few houses,
[621] most of them not exceeding 20 or 30 houses; these are large
[592] and in each one there are up to three families, but close relatives, such as father and married son and married daughter; they form a square and are so situated as to enclose the little plaza. They are not pretty, but they are clean; they are not large, but neither are they as small as those of some towns
[342] of the whites. These Chiriguano towns are poor; it is hard to find in them houses with tiles, but they are comfortable, with the roofs, as will be said, having the necessary slope so that they do not readily admit drips (1).

[354] 1. In the upper part of the house they make a long, continuous opening to allow the smoke to escape; it is made in such a way that it does not allow water to come in during the rainy season.

/170 cont./

Modern Houses

342 17] [464] [648] A Chiriguano house offers nothing special in appearance, but even those of the mestizos who have settled in their country are of the same form and not rarely worse, because naturally since the mestizo is not very fond of physical labor, because he is not an Indian, it is necessary for him to call on the energy of the latter, and the native is not always inclined to lend him this or that service, from which it follows that their houses are inferior (2). /Illustration appears here./

2. I am speaking here of the houses that the mestizos or whites build in the countryside where they live; in the towns their houses are normal; they almost all have tile roofs, and there are also some which are whitewashed.

342 [192] [184] /171/ House in the Chiriguano language is called Ho, which is different from what they call Tapi, hut. The latter are common in large towns and belong to the lazy people, wanderers, and even the poor. It must thus be understood that the construction of a Chiriguano house is a work of no small importance and care, if one considers that the Chiriguano is poor, so poor that he only has available an ax, a shovel, and a knife, and not always these. Because of the importance that I give to this construction, many who do not know these regions could believe that the houses are very fine, but there is nothing fine about them. None of them is beyond the rank of cabins.

342 335 496 I believe that it is indispensable to describe the way of constructing them and the elements available to the Chiriguano in order to carry this out. If the Indian has some luck in sheep, he pays some of his companions with sheep so that they will help him gather the principal timber, and should this wealth be lacking, he begins to cut and strip bark in the woods by himself, selecting timber of good quality, straight and resistant to the action of water. The principal pieces are generally six posts

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 235]

4: Nino--234 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

342
352
353
516

Partial View of Modern Chiriguano House

/171 cont./

342 335 [476] [574] which form the skeleton of the house, but where the forest is not tall and the trees slender, nine are needed.

Once the timber has been transported with the help of his companions and relatives and they have been treated with food and chicha, the day for setting up the house is set. The center posts are first placed, with the two holes being dug quite deep; next comes the placement of the four or six lateral ones, which are much shorter so that rain will not stay on the roof and there will not be continual and copious dripping. I measured several relatively new houses, and their pitch from the ground to the ridgepole is about 42 o/o in some and in others 38, it being possible to conclude that the average is 40 (1).

> 1. Chiriguano houses are rectangular with only one room, which, if it is very long, has in the middle another post which holds up the ridgepole so that it may not bend or break.

[178] This proportion is maintained today by the houses in Chiriguano towns, and it cannot be otherwise, because the roof is entirely of straw and the rain would stay on it if it did not have sufficient slope. Some who by mistake build them without this proportion realize at the time of the first torrential rains, and even more in the ones that follow, the mistake that they have made, but in vain, because /172/ it is very difficult for the Indian to correct his lack of foresight.

Once the skeleton of the house has been set up vertically, the rest is simpler to do, except for the placement of the ridgepole and the side beams; the latter can be cut in half to make it easier to move them, in addition to making finding them easier. The placement of these beams is followed by that of the rafters and the reinforcing pieces of wood to strengthen the walls. [824] The rafters are tied with bejuco or with spiny ceiba bark, which is called Samuu by the Indians and Toborochi by the whites.

/172 cont./

342 824 The hardest part is finished with the previous operation: a short rest is taken, and then the owner of the new building must obtain enough hollow cane, engaging for this purpose Indians who have horses. But if the cane is very far away and has owners to boot, he gathers long sticks of astringent acacia or sebil and puts them horizontally every 15 centimeters on top of the rafters with the same above-mentioned lianas. Some [283] people, to tie the cane or sticks, use thin cords made from cowhide, but this, in addition to being more expensive, is less durable than bejuco (1).

> [137] [178] [423] 1. Before the whites settled in Chiriguano country, hollow cane was abundant and had no owners; at the present time it cannot be found, and, if there is any, it is in private hands and must be bought.

Generally, before the walls are begun the house is covered with capíi, red straw, or, should this not be available, with capiáncua, straw for harnesses of beasts of burden, which is of inferior quality and very soon frays to pieces with the rain, sun, and strong winds, while the capíi may last for more than ten years.

[476] If it can be obtained by staying for a few days in a place where it is plentiful, he pulls it up there and reduces it to rather large handfuls; the gathering is done in several days, engaging Indians who own horses. When the material is in the town, he rests for a few days or weeks; he informs or invites those who wish to take part, in particular those who are closest to him by [354] kinship or friendship. These then go about tying the capíi between two horizontal canes toward the side of the roots, forming long, narrow lines, and when they are so placed, they attach them horizontally, beginning at the bottom and working /173/ upward or toward the ridgepole, where they leave a large vent to let out the eternal smoke of their inextinguishable fires (1).

> 1. Now the red straw is disappearing almost completely; the destruction of this necessary

/173 cont./

> 342 element and that of the hollow cane are due
> 824 to the abundance of cattle, which destroy even
> the straw for harnesses.

342 When the placement of the roof has been completed, they
574 all come down and gather in the hut of the friend, who, as a
[476] reward or payment for the service rendered, offers them a cup
[131] of chicha, and they drink this amidst jokes and crudities, at
times very heavy, especially should maidens or women of 30 years
or older who do not keep quiet pass by. But as the people know
each other well and are friends, the greatest harmony reigns,
and, when everything is finished, they take leave of the owner,
thanking him for his gifts, and he shows them his gratitude
for the services which they have rendered (2).

> 2. The workers only ask for chicha in recompense, but if the owner has beans or gourds cooked for them in a stew with considerable stimulant in the form of chili pepper, arivivi, it is a feast or carnival for all.

342 The rest of the work is done with less haste and at a more
312 opportune time. In fact, most wait until the rainy season to do
[221] it, for then water is abundant, and this to be sure deserves the
approbation of all because it is more economical and easier.
Thus, taking into consideration the laziness of the Indian man
[461] and the tasks which the Chiriguano woman has, it would be expensive and quite tiresome to bring the water on their shoulders
from great distances, which is avoided during the rainy season.
[356] Then during each shower not only is the construction of the
walls of the new houses done, but also the repair of those which
have come apart during the year, and it is very amusing to see
from a distance the women around the houses with their sleeves
rolled up or with the tipoy down to the waist, making holes in
the wet ground with shovel or hoe, pouring a little water in,
kneading the earth, forming large balls of it, and putting it between the canes which are already attached.

/173 cont./

342 The canes, or sticks, are attached in the same way as in the roof, with the difference that for the walls they are put in double order, outside and inside, so that they can serve as a support for the dampened earth, which in the end is like a large bag, long and tall, around the house. This other work [462] is done by the Indian men, engaged beforehand by the promise of chicha: next they too dig in the wet soil /174/ dampened by the rain or by water, and help the women in the operation of forming the walls.

With such simplicity, the four walls are raised in a single day, everything being completed: at the present time almost all houses have a gallery where the men and women always sit to enjoy the cool of the mornings and the evenings in friendly gatherings, a gallery which is even used for sleeping on excessively hot nights, especially when inside there is an abundance of vinchucas and other insects (1).

346
476

1. In Parapiti a school for 150 girls was built and finished in 12 hours: nothing had been prepared for this building; it was planned the day before and done at once by all the inhabitants.

342 With the erection of the gallery, the house is completely finished, and the Indian content and satisfied. In present-day buildings care is taken to place the door, or entry, at one end of the house which corresponds to the gallery, and many have two, one in front of the other, in order to have a way to the patio which they make with a fence of thorns for greater comfort.

342
35
[522]
[524]

The doors are of cane, which they tie together like mats, but vertically, with ceiba bark or with cowhide thongs, which are more durable indoors. If an Indian can get a cowhide, he makes a door of Guayapa wood, or, as the whites call it, sacharosa, or another soft wood, which he puts in a hole left in the construction; he makes another frame with its hinges made of the same wood, stakes the hide, and fastens it in this

/174 cont./

342
281
second frame, taking care that it is not very tight so that when it dries it will not warp. He attaches this hide from behind with thongs of the same material, and the result for them is a door de luxe, which could be envied even by some whites, who, in spite of the fact that they have hides, either cannot find anyone to work them for such a door, or who out of avarice and in order not to spend a few coins do not concern themselves with such a comfort (2).

342
322
> 2. Some of them make very crude doors with two pieces of thorny ceiba wood, which they work perfectly with a knife. No Chiriguano puts a window in his house.

Ancient Houses

342
177
178
Some of my readers perhaps may have believed that the house and its mode of construction just described go back to the origin of the race. /175/ This belief would be an error, because they must understand that the above-mentioned is the result of progress. The method of building houses like the present ones is relatively new; they learned it from the whites, especially from the inhabitants of the Santa Cruz area, where the houses all have galleries, this being noted even in the capital of the department, although they may be of much more importance and may be disappearing in the new buildings. But
184
in Monteagudo, Lagunillas, Charagua, and centers where the Chiriguano have their holdings, houses have gallaries.

These, in addition to giving the houses a better appearance, in addition to the indisputable utility, are a very great reinforcement and protection for the walls of the house, not allowing the torrential rains to wear away or demolish the plastering that
342
171
+
they do in all the houses. It is true that many houses of the whites in their towns are of adobe, but when the timber is of superior quality it is almost preferable, because this material
[illegible] [illegible] BETTER AND IS MORE COMPACT.

000 /175 cont./
remains joined better and is more compact (1).

797 1. When a mission is founded, the first building is the mission house made in the usual way. But in the Potosí missions they are all of timber, and any traveler would marvel at their height and strength.

342 198 The ancient Chiriguano houses were of different form, and they were not alike in size or beauty in the towns. Some were distinguished by their roundness and conical form, and others because they were small and low. The latter had no importance at all and could scarcely even be called huts, in spite of the fact that, to the poor Chiriguano, dominated by his laziness, the smallness of a dwelling does not detract from its importance.

342 171 I am going to deal at some length with the way the houses of conical form were built, because they indicate skill on the part of the builder or because they make one's imagination take wing and fly to China, Africa, and Japan, where similar forms are found and thus make us ever more convinced of the unity of the human race.

As explorers, travelers, histories, and well thought out books say and as is also observed in the pictures of illustrated geographies, it is evident that in China, Japan, Africa, New Zealand, and in the east of Australia not a few of the inhabitants /176/ have houses in conical form.

This form seems to be the original one of the human race, and it is very probable that man has used it in the five parts of the world, since it is even found among the Chiriguano.

342 335 In fact, in order to construct a comfortable house before the Conquest, the clever Chiriguano used the following method. He first obtained a single post of some four or five meters and planted it at a depth of approximately one meter (1).

[476] [574] 1. For any small job for which the Indian must trouble his friends, he would get nothing without offering them a drink. Not even money is so esteemed and appreciated as chicha by the Chiriguano.

/176 cont./

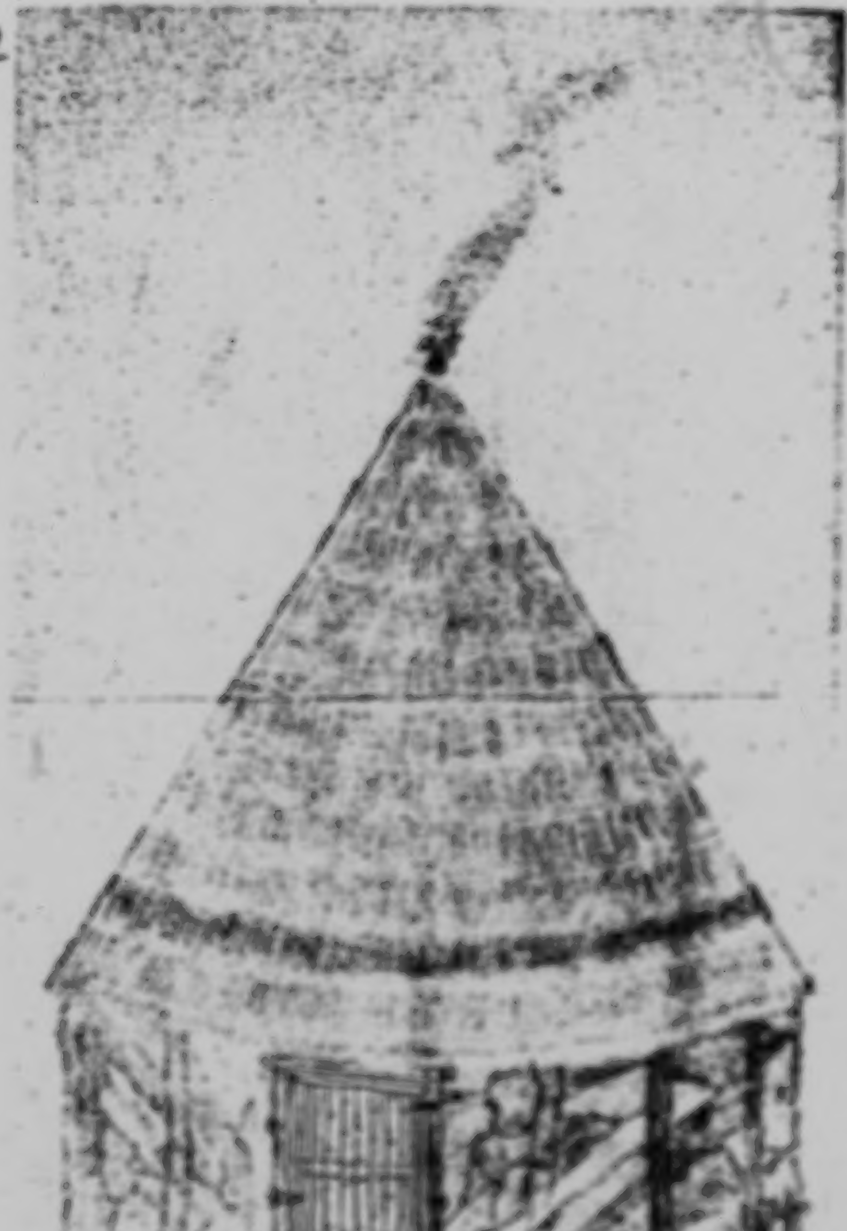
342
335 The post thus set up served as a central point for the new house: next he traced a more or less round circle without having any recourse whatsoever to the rules of theoretical geometry, being ignorant of its existence; nevertheless, his reason helped him enough. Having traced the circle and having secured ahead of time enough forked poles /*horquillas*/ some two meters high, he put them in holes some 50 or 60 centimeters deep around the circumference, leaving the entrance facing the plaza.

Once these poles have been well fixed in the ground around the center pole, the Indian, with the help of his companions and relatives, prepares rafters, straw, *bejuco* or caiba bark, hollow cane or small sticks. He then begins, after an appropriate period of rest, to put in place first the rafters, tying them to each other, the center post serving as a prop, and then he ties them to the poles around the circumference, one to each pole, until he finishes. Before beginning, the precaution is taken of singeing the *bejuco*. The rest is done as has been described in the modern houses, but when the placing of the roof and the walls around are finished, the center post, which would only be an obstruction for the fire which is constantly burning in the center of the house, is removed (2).

[824) 2. Singed *bejuco* does not rot, regardless of the season in which it has been pulled up. It is resistant and is not attacked by the wood borer. Those who use it so much have experience.

[821] Everyone knows that conical houses are very solid, when care is taken to select good wood and /illustration appears here/ /177/ to cut it during the waning moon. If the rafters have the fork downward, conical houses are much more solid (1).

[554] 1. A house in conical form among the ancient Chiriguano indicated great ability on the part of the builder and status on the part of its owner; for this reason they were owned only by caciques, rich persons, and other important persons.



/177 cont./

Fire

354
352
372 In conical houses as well as in those of rectangular form, ancient as well as modern, a fire burned, and still burns, night and day: it is never extinguished, but should this happen, the way to relight it is to borrow it from the neighbors. If all the inhabitants of a tribe have temporarily emigrated to a place which is not far away, as happens at the time of general planting, at the end of the harvest, and upon returning to town, they come back bringing their fire with them, as I have seen on repeated occasions. But as today civilization has penetrated and the match has become common, even the Chiriguano will save up one medio, or ten centavos, to buy such a useful combustible, which they use very sparingly, because in their hands this is now a luxury and lends them an air when in a gathering of companions they can bring out and draw their box of matches while lighting a maize-husk cigar.

372
177
178

[435]
[276]

372 When a fire happens to go out in a place where it is difficult to get it from distant houses, the Chiriguano is not too worried. The man is almost never without a flint, tinder, and a piece of steel: these implements are used to obtain new fire. The tinder is prepared by them from a ball of wild cotton or the flower of the *samou*, which they reduce into a skein of thread and put into a cow's horn, which they close at the wider end, fitting to it a wooden stopper that they keep down with a small wire or agave string; inside the tinder box it extends to the other end, where they make a small hole in order to be able to pull the wire or string and keep the top on tight.

The Indian who does not have all this apparatus does not worry much either. If his fire happens to go out, he makes a small conical hole in a piece of well-dried wood, in which he violently spins a small cylindrical stick, also dry, which does not take long to get hot and then to give off sparks of fire, to which he then applies the tinder, which consists of the dry pith either of the agave or of the /179/ maguey, which when it has taken fire will light any other combustible material (1).

[178]

1. When the toad handed over fire to the men

/179 cont./

372 [773] children who had been saved from the Iporu, deluge of waters, he also taught them the way never to lose it, by rubbing pieces of wood together forcefully.

[illegible] 372 The Chiriguano is quite a hunter, and no wild animal or bird escapes from his eye and hand. On these hunting trips he often needs fire. If he is very far from town and prepares to sleep alone in the forest or in open country, he lights his fire in the way just described, in order to have its company, to keep away the jaguar and the demons, and to light his cigar and prepare his roast.

Work

Cleanliness

356 [362] Many will perhaps come to the conclusion that Chiriguano houses, poorly built and worse maintained because of the continual fire which gives off smoke and ash, are very dirty, without cleanliness or neatness, but nothing is more incorrect. [515] [362] The Indian despite his savagery is clean, and especially for cleanness he pulls out his facial and body hair, bathes daily, and combs his hair often, getting rid of the little animals which might be in his thick hair. The Cuña, or Chiriguano woman, constantly thinks of the cleanliness of her house, gallery, and the ground in front, up to four meters in length and width (1).

[362] 1. All can see that some Chiriguanos, out of laziness, live in their own very old and dilapidated houses, open to the sun, wind, rain, and dust; in others that have a new roof, walls are lacking, thus exposing them to getting pneumonia, but there is no lack of cleanliness in any of them.

/178 cont./

353 [356] Chiriguano towns attract the attention of all travelers and explorers because of the cleanliness which reigns in their houses, which, despite having a notable quantity of furnishings, are well kept up through the assiduous work of the mistress of the house. [415] [352] Jars with wide mouths are in the corners; those with narrow mouths, in which the *chicha* must ferment, lean vertically against the walls; the plates and spoons are on small triangular tables of hollow cane in the corners; small ollas are placed inside the empty large pots, and these in times of abundance, and even in times of scarcity, are full, some with shelled maize, others with beans and gourd seeds, and others with wool and cotton for making ponchos, blankets, or outer garments.

[824] [251] /179/ Above, at an appropriate height, they hang a mat of hollow cane or little sticks well tied together well with *Ivi*, or ceiba, and there they put other trifles or small things, when they do not have anything else to put there, such as cheeses and charqui, or dried meat. The mat is usually hung on one side of the house on one of the rafters by means of thongs of cowhide or other material. They are placed there so as not to be in the way of those who must pass beneath (1).

[824] 1. The *Ivi* is a species of *ceiba*, *samuu*, but it does not have points like the latter. There is another called *Cuari* or *Tayipiruru*, which is very straight, has very strong fibers, and is only cut at the branches in order to pull off the bark. A fourth type of ceiba is called *Iviro guasu*; it is large and smooth. Each type has its congenial place, like every tree.

Finally, in the corners of the house or where it is most convenient, up high, they put one or more cords, which form an angle from one wall to the other, and there each member of the family puts his own clothing and the men hang the harness of their beasts of burden. Today the Chiriguano who are not lazy are not so poor, and when one enters a house one is amazed by all the abundance of furnishings so well arranged.

/179 cont./

512 356 With such an arrangement, it is not difficult for the Chiriguano woman, after having taken her bath, made her toilette, and put up her hair, to sweep her house in a few minutes, sweep the yard, put back in its place everything that has been used, to put the beds to the walls, put the coverings on the cords in the corners, and again prepare what is needed for cooking (2).

2. The ancient Chiriguano woman did it this way, because she got up very early; today, as she is beginning to be lazy, after having done everything, she goes to the spring, bathes, combs her hair, and carries water.

Cots and Beds

513 No matter how poor a Chiriguano may be, he seeks comfort for sleeping and does not sleep on the ground when he is at home, both in order to avoid sickness and to be free of poisonous animals which abound, such as the snake, the scorpion, and the tarantula, which strike horror just to look at them. Furthermore, they do not sleep on the ground in order to be free of the bite of other insects, such as the *vinchuca* and the *guenero* in certain areas, but despite this their cots are /180/ full of other little coffee-colored bugs, known in every corner inhabited by man.

350 335 322 In order to avoid any such accident, one obtains the *[illegible]*, cot, by making it oneself. Cots are of hollow cane, little sticks, or split maguey sticks, which they call *caraguata guasu*. In order to make them, they first make a rectangular frame; in this four holes are made 40 centimeters in from the ends, into which four sticks are introduced vertically; these are the feet. Above are tied canes or sticks which are high at the top and bottom and deep in the middle, and this is the cot. At bedtime they are content with placing at the head some rag or piece of wood.

/100 cont./

352 The peculiarity of the Chiriguano cots is that they are almost
always shorter than the persons who must sleep on it: most of
them measure one meter 60 centimeters. They perhaps have
[513] this peculiarity because they sleep curled up like pigs in order
to hold together better the little clothing or blankets that they
[178] possess. Today they are beginning to make them longer and
[237] to have cots like the whites use: the open part of the latter
is closed with cowhides which they attach first lengthwise and
then at the sides, equidistantly about every seven or eight
centimeters, with many small squares being the result (1).

1. The cots which are made with split agave sticks are soft and preferred; in the Ivo Mission almost all make them of this material.

514 517 516 The Chiriguano man does not like to sit on the ground either;
when he is visiting, it would be an insult to make a man sit on
the ground; nevertheless for a gathering of friends they do sit
352 down where they wish and stretch out like dogs in the sun. For
355 the reception of visitors they have crude seats. They are of
[514] wood and called *Apica*. There are some with two places and
up to four with their respective dividers; there are some for
[612] men and even for children. They are of a single piece, and
they are made by dint of much patience by hollowing them
out with an ax. The tree should be a thick one so that the
seat may have a little height and the occupant may not cut a
ridiculous figure of a punchinello or clown, causing laughter
[433] among the onlookers. They also use benches and chairs like
[434] those of the whites; they make the latter for their own use
[324] and to sell to their fellows and to the whites. The wood which
they seek out for these labors is *pacharrusa*, because it is soft
and easily worked with the tools that are available to the poor
Chiriguano, who does not always have an adze and a chisel.
352 Some people also have /101/ hammocks, *Quiha ó inni*, but
they are so old and black because of the action of the smoke
that they arouse disgust (1).

524 1. For a children's game they hang in the

/101 cont./

524 gallery two cords, tying at the ends a piece of cowhide 80 centimeters long by 30 in width, hanging about 60 centimeters above the ground. This is called Sabiaca, swing, and here the little boys and girls swing and rock.

562 Women sit on the ground in their houses and observe the
574 same custom when they go visiting. The man waits until he
576 is told where he should sit and always receives the best seat.
516 The woman does not wait: she knows her place: she arrives, does not greet anyone, leaves her bundle in a corner, if she has one, and then squats down in such a way that from near or far many women squatting like this look like so many carronades /camaretas/ ready to go off.

Matés

462 In the furnishings of Chiriguano houses a preferred place
241 is occupied by the matés, made of gourds divided vertically
415 through the middle. This is man's work: he plants them and
322 cultivates them in his field, and when they are mature they are brought to the house where they are allowed to dry in the shade and also in the sun. Some three months are needed for this or even more, depending on the season. Nevertheless, they are watched throughout to see whether a fingernail will penetrate the skin. When the fingernail will not penetrate, the gourds are ripe. Then they remove the first skin, split them, extract and completely remove the pulp, keep the seeds for the new planting, and, when they are clean, they let them dry for a few days.

462 They are put in a separate place, and a second operation
415 begins. With his Chiriguano patience, with a knife or other
531 instrument, the Indian begins to engrave whatever figures occur to him, such as tree branches, circles with grains of sand, squares, figures of jaguars, doves, lizards, dogs, chickens,

/181 cont./

462 bulls, deer, etc. If all this carving were woman's work, it
415 would have but one name, Sacuarama, but since it is man's
531 work, each figure has the name of the quadruped, biped, or
reptile that it represents (2).

[825] 2. Thus they say Machuru haangaño, figure of a lizard. Yaimba haangaño, figure of a dog. Even the men call the figure of a jaguar or a dove: Sacuarama.

/182/ With this second task the work can be considered finished. Days or weeks are employed depending on the greater or lesser quantities of the matés. They now color all the
[386] etched figures with ground charcoal and paint the empty spaces
[239] with Urucú, achiote, making them firm with the Taragüirisi,
which is abundant everywhere, then singeing them in the flame of the fire so that the pictures will never lose their shine and luster or the painting of carbon and urucú come off (1).

237
323
825 1. The Taragüirisi is a species of ant which is common in cold weather. Its length is not over half a centimeter and its thickness three. It moves about the small branches of certain small trees, where it leaves its speckled whitish excrement. All potters provide themselves with an abundance of this material.

Pottery

323
[462] I shall now go on to consider women's work, limiting
[317] myself to the most important, such as clay vessels and textiles.
[484] For the former the Chiriguano woman provides herself beforehand with the best clay, which she knows very well and even brings from long distances, if it is not found in the territory of the tribe. Naturally the potter not only wishes to avoid the loss of her labor, but also, insofar as she can, she wishes to

/182 cont./

323 avoid the loss of her reputation as a worker or master of an art which provides her with money and subsistence, despite the low price of the vessels (2).

[648] [317] 2. There exist some Christians who in their area prohibit the unfortunate Chiriguano women from removing clay from some good veins. For this and so many other reasons, as has been observed by the illustrious Father Pierini, the savage sees in the white, not a brother, but an enemy.

Before going on to the manufacture of the vessel, jar, or plate, the potter provides herself with a potsherd or several of these, depending on the size of the work which she wishes to do; if she cannot find it in the corners of her house because there are no broken pots, she borrows one from her neighbors, and if they do not have any or do not wish to do her the favor, she breaks one of the inferior and smaller ones. In the missions or wherever there are ovens to fire tiles and bricks, the potters can do without a potsherd; they find pieces of well-fired bricks or tiles around the ovens, and with this the primary material is complete.

/183/ Then she submerges an appropriate quantity of clay in water, as much as may be needed for the piece she plans, and she leaves it there until it is completely softened and can be kneaded better than wax. Meanwhile she reduces to the finest powder the potsherd, brick, or tile which she has managed to get, sifts it in the finest sieve, Unupe, that she possesses; next she kneads the softened clay, making sure that it does not harden too much, puts in it all the sifted powder, and mixes it so that it forms a perfect union with the clay, and leaves the lump thus prepared until the next day.

The potter, after having cleaned her house and her person as well, and having fed her children, sits down near the receptacle which contains the raw material, extracts an amount of clay, and begins to knead it, shaping it into the

/*183 cont.*/

323 form of a sausage or thick meatball eight or ten centimeters in diameter, and with this first effort begins the piece in the cleanest and flattest space (1).

> 1. The lump for the piece is kneaded on a sheepskin or goatskin, on top of a potsherd, or on a piece of wood.

415
323 If a piece is of small dimensions, she finishes it rapidly. Plates, for example, are made very fast, and they can make up to ten in one day; the vessel for keeping water can be made in half a day, but the ones they call *Yambui*, a large vessel with a narrow mouth, and *Ñae*, one with a wide mouth, or *cántaro*, as they say around here, neither can nor should be finished in one day, both because they are large and because it is necessary to work with care and skill (2).

323

> 2. The base of every piece is made out of a portion of clay which they flatten out like a tortilla, on which they make a small rim turned upward, and to this they keep joining the clay in the manner described. The burnishing, which they do with a maize cob, seems very insignificant, but is more than necessary. Without this operation the *cántaro* would not hold water, much less would it hold *chicha*.

One who hurried in the manufacture of large pots would never finish them, because the soft clay would always fall down; for this reason the procedure is a slow one. When the base and somewhat more has been made, they suspend the work for a while, so that it may dry through the action of the wind or breezes; in the meantime she continues to polish it, first with a maize cob, *Atiíg[illegible]*, and later with a special shell, *Inta*, and finally with a special stone about three centimeters in

/183 cont./
323 size, which they /184/ call Itaisi, with which the polishing of
the pieces is completed (1).

> 1. The operations which they also perform with the shell and with the stone are for the purpose of giving fineness to the vessels and of closing any chinks.

[824] When they leave the piece which has been begun, they
cover it with leaves of the Causíro, palma Christi, and at the
time when they begin it again they dampen the edges with a
small rag. This rag serves also for dampening the piece before
polishing it with any of the above-mentioned tools. When
it is finished and before it has been exposed to the air very
long, they polish it with the Itaisi, and, when it is quite dry
they fire it if it is not to have pictures on it.

53 Every painted piece of pottery is called Sacuarama. The
[192] paintings are white, black, and red. The white is called
Toyanti, the black Itau, and the red Itaurucu. They grind
[237] up the three colors separately, dissolve them in water, and
apply them with a slender feather from a chicken or other
bird. The figures are varied; those of trees, animals, and
men are rare; they are lines, unintelligible groupings. Without knowing it themselves, they follow a general system, and
some of them make fine pieces, especially for storing water.

323 In order to fire them they select a still day, and a big
[843] piece is carried to the forest, because there is plenty of firewood there and also to avoid having pregnant women coming
close to watch, because their presence, according to what they
[237] say, would make the vessel break. They pile firewood around
it and light it, taking care that the fire does not go out before
it is burning well; sometimes instead of firewood they also use
dry cow-manure, and it seems that this is very good for evenness of the baking. If the pot has paintings, they let it cool a
[237] little when they take it out of the fire and then quickly pass over
the pictures' the excrement of the Taragüirisi, which melts with

/184 cont./

323 [237] the force of the heat and remains over the paintings like a binder, without which they would disappear the first time it was used. The Taragüirisi remains on the vessels like a light coat of rubber and the white of the Tovanti becomes opaque (?).

> 2. When a pot is slightly damaged, they heat it in the fire and on the inside and outside apply the Taragüirisi, and it is as good as before.

/185/ Textiles

286 462 [294] Another important occupation of the Chiriguano woman is weaving the Asoya for her husband, brother, or son, and the Cutama for herself. For this she prepares the wool or cotton, spins it opposite the way the mestizo and European women spin, and then bleaches it and finally dyes it.

286 In order to weave, they set up two tall, slender forked sticks in the house, with two sticks across, one above and one below, and arrange or place the threads vertically, and then sit on the ground and begin to run the woof through, thread by thread, which they hit with a pointed stick of soto wood called Piuca. This, to be sure, is time consuming, if the threads are fine, but, on the other hand, the work is very durable.

291 286 231 249 [184] [177] Ponchos, Asoya, are of two types, one of wool and one of cotton; the first are common from the right bank of the Parapiti River southward and the second from the left bank northward, because in the first region sheep are plentiful, and in the second, cotton fields. Formerly, before the whites introduced cattle into the region, cotton was cultivated everywhere, and from its product the men were dressed for ceremonies in their Tíru and the women in the Mandu, which I shall discuss in the following chapter.

/183 cont./

291 296 (198) The Cutama, which I have mentioned, has been replaced by the Tipoi of the same form as the former, but made of chintz, blue drill, linen, merino wool, or corduroy; they also weave covers for their beds, but these are without colors, and an occasional man has a crude loom, like those they use in Europe with a comb, manufactured by themselves (1).

291 1. The Mandu is attached to both shoulders by means of two large silver pins which correspond to the luxury of the garment; on ordinary days they pin the Tipoi with large thorns, but these have been replaced by needles, pins, and metal clasps.

462 Other tasks of the women are carrying water, maize, and field produce for the kitchen and making chicha and algarroba mead, which we shall discuss below, putting an end to this chapter for now.

080 /186/

Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

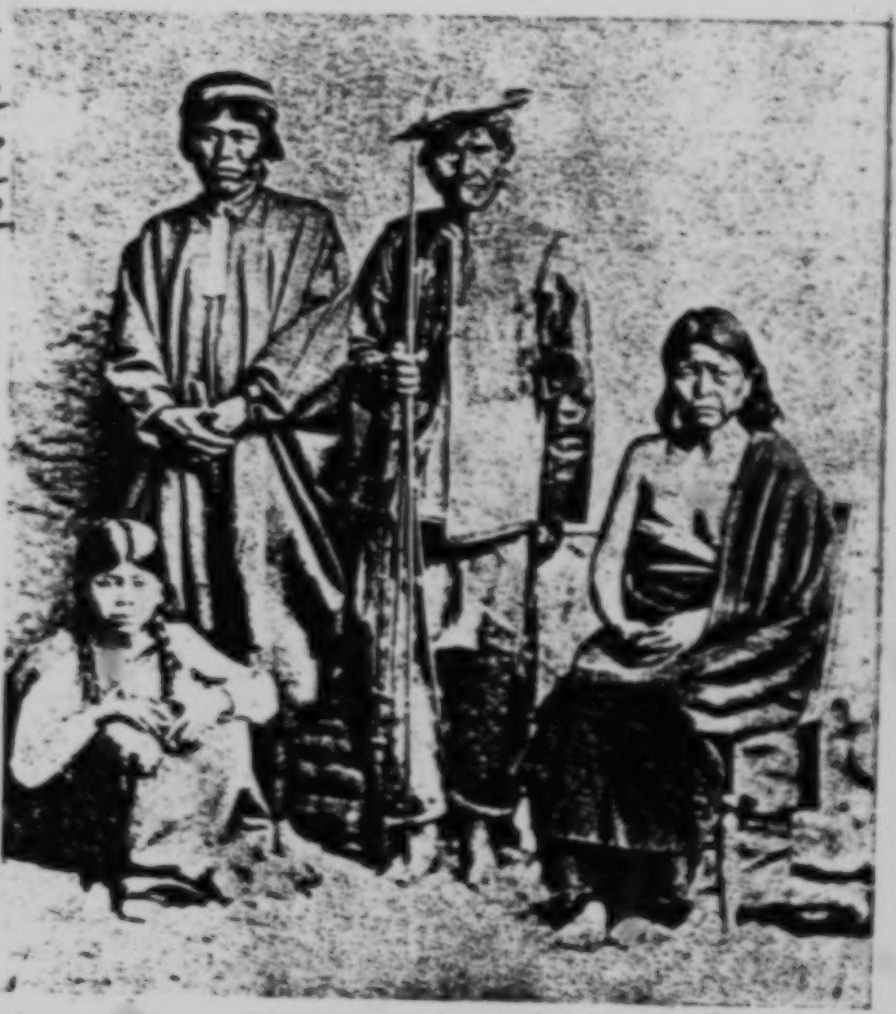
Introduction

/The first paragraph on p. 186 is omitted in the translation. Page 186 continues as follows./

Clothing, which should remind us of the fall of our first parents, their misfortunes, their sufferings, hardships, and their death, our hardships, misfortunes, and death as a consequence of that disobedience, is today used as an object of extraordinary luxury. All of humanity has converted clothing into an object of vanity, and there is no nation, no tribe, however abject it might be or might consider itself, which has not abused or is not abusing clothing and adornments. /The last paragraph on p. 186 and the first paragraph on p. 187 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 187. The remainder of page 187 follows./

4: Nino--255 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
622
352
411



Cacique Güiraesa with His Family

/187 cont./

000 What did Adam obtain through his sin? Confusion and being thrown out of Paradise in order to be subjected to all the miseries of life. We have all inherited the pride of the first [186] Adam, and this capital sin causes us to commit errors and more errors, causes the principle of humility to be lost, and causes the favored one to look with disdain on one who is inferior; only religion can remedy these evils, but Catholicism has not penetrated everywhere, and among the Chiriguano, formerly savages in every sense of the word, it is relatively new, for which reason the pride with which they deprecate their inferiors, looking at them disdainfully, is not altogether uprooted; they do not make use of their clothing and adornments, and they strive to appear equal to the whites, whom they consider superior (?).

> 2. The simplicity of dress of the American Catholic women when they go to church is worthy of all praise. Would that they always dressed in this way and that the fashion of hats had never appeared! In Europe they are so large that they bother the spectator in large gatherings, and in the daily services they interfere with the view of the holy ceremonies, and, consequently, they attend without piety.

302

Clothing

The Chiriguano wears his hair long and barely ever cuts the hair near the forehead, either for adornment or so that it may not interfere with his vision, because he does not tie it 301 up like the women and the Quechua Indians. He wraps it 302 around his head and ties it with a band that his wife, mother, [286] or sister weaves for him. This band is called Yapicuana; it is 1.25 or 1.50 meters long and 5 centimeters more or less in width. It is of cotton or wool and comes in various colors, [177] but at the present time most of them, where civilization has not sufficiently penetrated, use one of red baize, which they

/187 cont./

301
302
[197]
buy in the store, so active since the founding of the missions. The Chiriguano with his vigorous head of hair and his red Yapicuana /188/ walks very proudly and shows off both things at feasts in the presence of his companions (1).

[197]
[114]
[121]
1. An interested party once said that the mission in Yumbía had no purpose because the Indians were civilized. I am sure that this is not true, because the explorer who wants to learn the old customs of the Indians can study them better there than anyone else today. There they wear long hair, the tembeta /lip plug/, and balaca, or band, from childhood.

291
294
285
To cover the head they do not all wear a hat. The latter is woven by them themselves with palm leaves, Carandaiz they bring them from the places where they are abundant, Carandaiti, pull out the whitest shoots /cogollos/, take them to their houses, then string them one by one on a long cord, which they make of the same palm, tying them to each other. They hang them there and the action of the air whitens them much more. Then they divide each leaf of three or four shoots into leaflets no larger than 2 1/2 centimeters and begin to weave at the crown, where they form a cross with these leaflets, which they then keep weaving, and, as one ends, they add another, and when the work reaches the edge or brim, they stick the ends in so that the hat will not come undone, pull strongly, cut off the ends, and a round hat has been finished.

Others form long strands one centimeter wide and sew them to one another with cotton thread, and these hats are imperfect cones lined with black or red cloth. They are used by older Indians, those of importance, caciques and sorcerers (2).
292
554

291
302
304
178
2. The Quichua /Quechua/ always with his cap, the Chiriguano is abandoning the custom of long hair, the lip is pierced for the tembeta in few places now, and the straw hat is being

/258 cont./

291
302
304
178

> replaced by the cloth one, although it costs a great deal: the customs of yesteryear are now disappearing, and those of today, or of the whites, are penetrating rapidly.

302
412
[831]

For the Chiriguano virility consists of a vigorous head of hair: nevertheless, although he prizes hair on his head, he never allows any other hair on his body, except that of the eyelashes and eyebrows, which he forms into arches. He pulls out the rest of the hair on his face and body with his Tendivaha peha, or tweezers. These consist of some little pieces of tin or a piece of cane slit down the middle, and sometimes a knife. With great patience and bit by bit he pulls out or cuts off all the hair that appears on his chin, thus looking like another woman. Others who are called /illustration appears here/ /259/ rich pull out their hair with thin pieces of silver, which they call Mbotvera (1).

302

> 1. During my stay in the territory I saw only one Indian who had a thick beard, but because of this uncleanliness he was considered disgusting. When the hairs grew, he cut them with scissors. Today the young men are beginning to wear mustaches and goatees, and many shave with razors.

[178]

291
[171]

The ancient Chiriguano clothing was very simple and too immoral, as is still seen among those Indians where the civilization of the Cross has not penetrated, such as the Chacobo north of Santa Cruz and others in the Bolivian Chaco. Boys go about naked until the age of ten or twelve, and girls up to seven, at which age they are content to cover the most delicate part of the body because of a trace of modesty which exists among them. Even grown men make use of this most simple garment when they are in the country busy at work or when they are returning to town loaded with firewood or food.

[Text Continues on P. 260]

291
415
472

Chiriguano saddle or seat, sagum, bag, belt

/199 cont./

291 Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for coolness the Cutama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

292

Gala Dress

For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambícuai, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guangui cangao, hat, the Ambícuai, sagum or frock coat, and the Guangui timbiao, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to sorcerers. It is made entirely of tanned skins, which are those of the wild boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the bark of the Curupau, the astringent acacia or sevil, which contains a great deal of tannin. 534

Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like the one made in the Santa Rosa Mision by the Indian Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Caruyuqui and other objects, such as the Yandugua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (2).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Doroteo Giannecchini.

/190/

291 294 The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

292 281 The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit, is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandees also wear it. [126] In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this doublet appear outside the circle. 529 554 562 In the middle there is a Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

[128] 1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

292 [281] The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

/190 cont./

292 The Chiriguano, when he is dressed in these skins, considers himself a grandee, and he is one before his companions and the caciques themselves. But from the beginning, even before it is even worn, such clothing gives off a very disagreeable odor, like that of the soles of shoes. Let the reader imagine what it must be like when it has been used for some

[296] time. It can easily be understood that the Chiriguano, when wearing the doublet, has nothing else on his body, and that all of the sweat, etc., sticks to it, and it should be noted that the outfit is never washed, which adds to the smell.

[622] [779] /191/ The cacique Nambi of Ivo made his visits to the P.P.C.C. of Santa Rosa Mission to ask for a mission in his town, dressing himself in his old and filthy doublet before making the visit. He embraced the missionaries and talked quite close to them, the result being almost unbearable (1).

[224] 1. The outfit is completed by a pair of boots called Timainu, which literally means companion of the shin bone. These are necessary for hunters so that they will not hurt their legs when they are pursuing wild animals.

The illustration that I put at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 258/ will make the description of the Ambícuai more easily understood. There appear in it a young man and an old man standing, a woman sitting on a chair, and a young girl sitting on the ground. The old man dressed in a doublet is the cacique Gîiraesa of Santa Rosa; the woman who is seated on the chair is his wife, the man on his right is his son Yandareca, and the girl is his Christian daughter, named Prisca.

[291] The Chiriguano who does not have a doublet is satisfied with his long poncho or with a blanket wrapped around his body down to his knees, but today it is rare that he cannot dress himself moderately well with some six varas of linen,

[432] [439] which at the most will cost him two bolivianos. Today everything can be bought in the small retail stores (2).

2. The doublet is used today in some areas to

/191 cont./

292 make people laugh at the carnival. The same thing can be said of other antiquities. I have placed in this chapter the method for making it, as well as the one for the hat, because it is work from which only the man benefits and both are counted among his garments.

[562]

Conclusion

463 In the course of the previous pages it has been seen that the Chiriguano is hunter, warrior, and also sorcerer. The first and second categories contain many, and the third one fewer, and this is easily understood, because a knowledge of medicinal herbs is needed and, more than this, the art of knowing how to deceive with prattling, which is not for all.

463 291 415 The three classes wear a belt with a bag which hangs from it. The belt is called "bosa," doubtless because it has a bolso /bag/. In this those of the first and second category put tobacco, maize husks, and flint, tinder, and steel for making fire, and sorcerers add to these things the implements of their profession, which /192/ are the Mbaeragüe, a piece of bone, the Itaupia, a round stone, both of which are necessary for the cures... miraculous ones (1).

[199] 1. The bosa does not seem to be of Chiriguano origin. Anduari doubts that it was introduced by the Argentinians or by the Tarijeños /people of Tarija/, but it seems to me that it was the former who introduced it, because it is similar to the one used by the gaucho.

/135 cont./

291 [illegible] Others who are not hunters, and hunters themselves when they are not engaged in this activity, fasten the breeches at the waist with a belt that they call Cuarapi; their wives weave it; it is made of wool and painted in various colors. They all have one, except some of the old men.

415 [illegible] [illegible] Another of their conveniences is the Uruparu, long bag in its literal translation. The Uruparu seems to be the Chiriguano's own; it is of tanned wild boar or pygmy deer hide, narrow at its opening, which they close with a little cord, gathering the opening; they sew around, and through the seam they pass the cord, which is rather long so that it can hang from one shoulder and be passed to the opposite armpit like a horseman's [illegible]. This bag is used as a container for carrying provisions on a trip. In it they put boiled meat, parched corn and charqui. This is done by warriors, hunters, and travelers, and, well secured, as has been explained, it is never lost.

415 494 312 Finally, there is no lack of another convenience for carrying water. In order not to experience the effects of burning thirst, he has a type of gourd with a hard shell like that of the mate; he empties it, removing the pulp and seeds, making a hole in the middle, puts it in a kind of net of cords, leaving one or two larger meshes near the hole placed at the top, where the Chiriguano himself makes a small circle, fills it with water, stops it up with a maize cob, and during a trip uses it sparingly, if he has foresight, or else he may not have it when he needs it most (7).

7. The Indians who are governed by corregidores in the region of the Gran Chaco traveled with their respective tarí or tutuma on their expeditions to the desert of Paraguay.

/193 cont./

Adornments

/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

181 The Chiriguanos, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

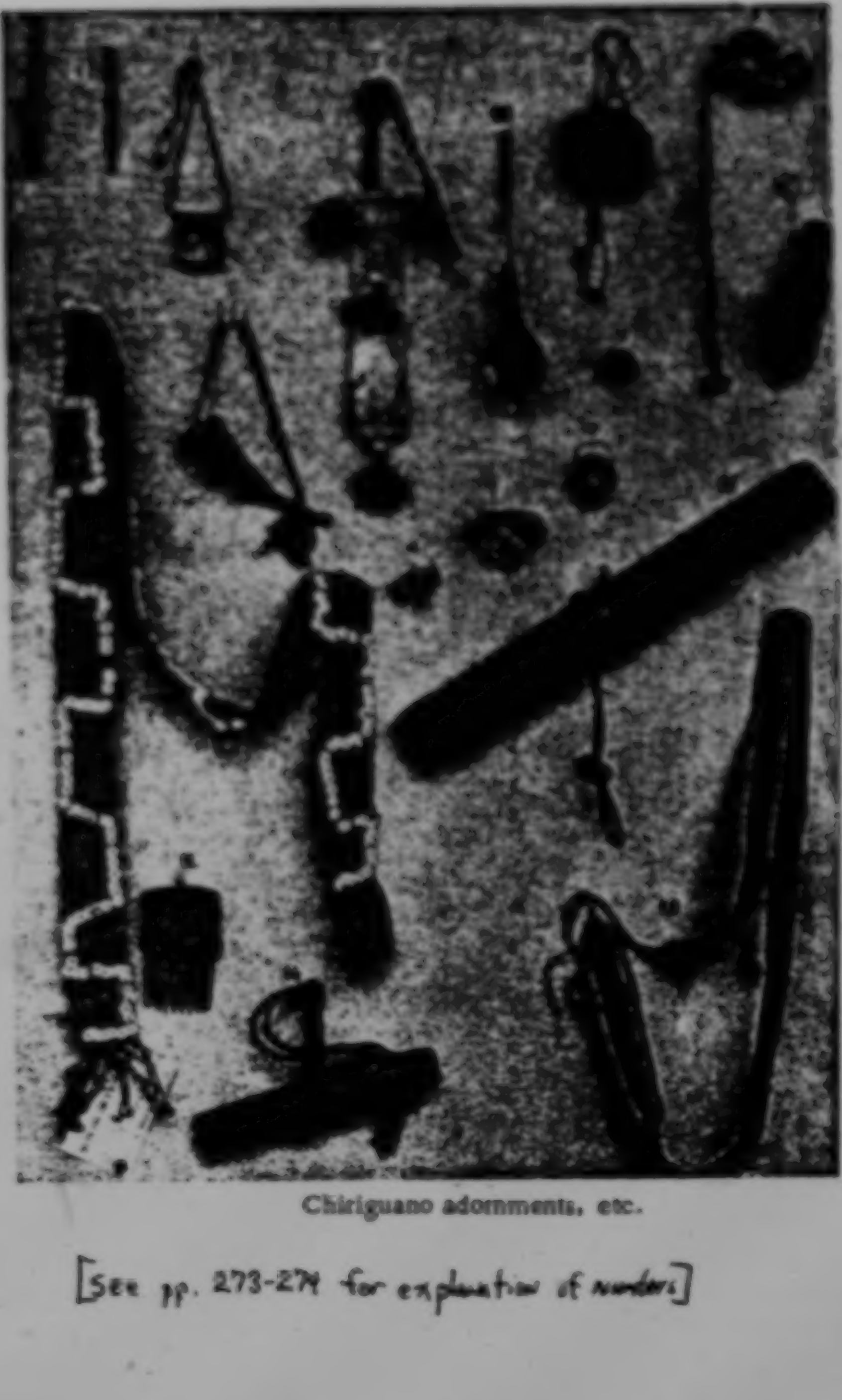
302 [292] [304] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 33/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [521] [858] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

[178] 1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy.

[text continues on p. 267]

301
531
302
534
412



Chiriguano adornments, etc.

[See pp. 273-274 for explanation of numbers]

/193 cont./

302 137 824 Another of the cosmetics frequently used by men and women is the Carasapa. This is an annual plant with broad leaves, and its stem grows /194/ to the height of a meter or a little more. The color of the plant itself and of its leaves is, for about half of it, somewhere between red and purple. The flower is large and about 30 centimeters long, its color being the same as that of the plant, but much brighter. There is enough of the plant everywhere, but it is not very abundant. The flower is somewhat heavy when it has seeds, and since the stem is slender and flexible, the result is that when it cannot hold itself upright it leans over toward the ground, forming an arch, hence its name Carasapa, or arched plant (1).

[529] 1. At carnival time even the neophytes paint their faces, as do the whites. They buy face paint which the whites sell, and the infidels forsake their achiote at the carnivals.

303 When the flower and seed are in season, the coquettes do their harvesting in order to use it, and they look pretty. The Carasapa also has its preparation, without which its application would not be easy. They first grind up some white beans, sift this meal very fine, and then grind the Carasapa in a mortar with a little water, put this mixture in a cloth, squeeze over the bean meal the water which comes out, washing or coloring it, and then dry the dough in the sun, spread out on a cloth or a Cutama. The preparation is not difficult, but not all of them go to the trouble to do it, and for those who prepare it, it is a profitable item.

302 [531] The way to use it is the same as for the achiote, but it does not have any peculiarity, and hence it is only used at fiestas and at carnival time. Maidens beautify their faces by forming two circles of carasapa on their fresh cheeks and paint their eyebrows with achiote. Formerly, when young girls wore the Atira, pompadour /copete/, at fiestas it was painted with the carasapa mixture, after having been oiled with palma Christi.

/194 cont./

302 The flower of the Guambero, purslane, has the same
properties as the carasapa, but it is little used, and they content themselves with just sticking the leaves on their faces,
and this only at carnival time, the result being a gay set of
dancers. Finally, the Indians have a fourth cosmetic, which
they call Mboiurucu, or achiote of the viper. It is red, and
they assert that it is food for the viper, hence its name. They
use it by rubbing it on their cheeks, which makes them a
bright red.

292 As noted above, the ancient Chiriguano man, Ava, and the
[527] Chiriguano woman of long ago, Cuña, at solemn fiestas and on
[178] days /195/ of general rejoicing, after having adorned their
faces and washed their persons, wore the tiru and the mandu,
respectively (1).

> 1. If the Indian dressed in a tiru does not have
> breeches, guasupi timbiao, he wraps his body
> from the waist down with a shorter poncho
> [286] which comes to the calf. It is also of cotton,
> [462] and the women weave it. It is called Tirupeé,
> or sheath that warms, "alias" wrap /abrigo/.

The Tiru is a kind of long poncho, from which it differs
because of the two openings that it has near the wrists; the
hands are put into said openings and remain free for movement,
and, the tiru fastened to the wrists, nothing impedes the motion
[286] of the one wearing it. It is spun and woven by the women, and
292 the raw material is cotton. The tiru differs in color, some
386 are black, others dark red, and others blue. The first color is
[824] obtained with black mud, Tuñúú, mixed with the resin of the
algarroba, Piari; the second, with sotillo bark, Urundeibusu;
and the third, with wild indigo, Caogüi (2).

> [437] 2. Today this is all purchased commercially,
> [178] and the indigo plant, which is abundant in
> certain places, is ignored. They buy the indigo
> and the other colors, just as they buy for their
> poncho and their tipoi.

/195 cont./

292 The black tiru is first dyed with sotillo bark, and then they
386 immerse it in a vessel which has well-steeped black mud and
824 algarroba resin. After some time they wash it and dry it out,
leaving the permanent color. The dark red is made with only
boiled sotillo bark. Finally, to dye with indigo they crush this
leaf and expose it to the sun's rays, then they crush it again in
the same way, after which they put it in a large earthenware
vessel with water, in which the tiru is immersed and comes out
a light blue, but, if they want it to be like the blue of drill, it
is necessary to boil the indigo.

In order to dye everything red they also use a species of
onion that they call Tunpaipi, which literally translated,
means feet of God and is abundant in the fields, and another
292 one called Chapi, which is found in the hills. Everything said
about the tiru is applicable to the mandu of the women, with
the sole difference that this is open at both ends and is attached
to the shoulders with two enormous silver needles that they call
Yu guasu, big needles, which are also disappearing.

301 When a woman is occupied with domestic and other work,
302 she ties her hair up tightly with a band, Apicuá, /196/ of cotton
[527] or wool, so that it will not inconvenience her at her tasks, but
[515] when there is a fiesta, she washes her person, washes her head,
combs her heavy and shining hair, and lets it loose, flowing
over her body as far down as it will go (1).

[178] 1. The young women today put up their hair like the white women, making braids through which they draw a band that they call Añopea, braided cord. The hair fastened in the old way was like a baton, since not a hair was to be seen, even horizontally, all of it being covered by the band, añopea.

/196 cont./

301 Over their tiru the men put the Mboivera, which is a small double piece of silver with its hole in the upper part, where they put a double cord of wool, on the ends of which there are [562] tassels of the same color. This ornament is for men, but there are also women who wear them, but smaller ones. If one in- [177] quires about the origin of the mboivera, no Chiriguano can tell you today, but it is almost certain that they received it from the Spaniards, with whom they had relations almost from the time of the discovery, as can be deduced from the history of Tarija, whose first settlers had to fight vigorously to take over the territory which they then occupied. It is enough to see a mboivera in order to conclude that it is not of Chiriguano origin. The work which goes into almost all of them indicates that it is the work of civilized people, since decorations by the engraver's burin can be seen on it (2).

43
301
> 2. A Mboivera, a Tempeta /sic/ with a ndamicha, four necklaces, and a ndamicha ichi formerly were exchanged for a horse, a cow, ten sheep, or 15 goats, but it should be noted that these pieces of property were worth little. A cow was worth five or six pesos, and the same could be said of the rest. Conscientious travelers today pay up to four bolivianos for a tembeta, because it is a museum piece.

301
435
756 Both men and women adorn their necks with beads /perlas/, Itogüi; necklaces, Risi, are not of beads like those of civilized people, but in spite of this the itogüi has a conventional value among the Chiriguano. For four itogüi necklaces they sold the best that they had, and sick persons gave them to the sorcerer in order that he would cure them, and today, when it is almost impossible to obtain a necklace, it is not rare for a sick person who owns one to make a gift of it to the doctor, even though it may be his passport to eternity, because everyone understands that after the sick person has been treated by a sorcerer in the most barberous manner, if he does not recover it is clear he will die.

/196 cont./

301 Indian youths who cannot sport a bead necklace make them out of shell, Yatita, which is abundant throughout the region. [321] /197/ The pieces are flat and round like a small button. They make a hole in the middle and string them one by one, making a knot in the string in order to separate them. Since the shells are white, a necklace on a Chiriguano's black neck is like a fly in milk (1).

> [562] 1. The shell necklace is worn solely by men. I checked carefully and saw that they alone wear it. I have several of them that I found in a grave which was uncovered by the rain.

301 562 For men there is another necklace of beads, Ndamicha; a string of these with a large one in the middle, Ndamicha ichi, mother of the beads, is valuable. The ndamicha even comes mounted in the hole of the tembeta, which then is valuable and is called Ndamicha-rembeta, tembeta with bead.

114 301 562 It seems that the explorer and expeditionist Touar is not completely correct when he says that these necklaces are made of coralline, malachite, etc. The Indians do not tell where they come from. Perhaps with careful analysis it could be learned what type of material they contain and which animal produces them naturally, such as the coralline. What is beyond doubt is that today's explorers do not give them the value that they would have if they were true pearls. The former value of beads among the Indians themselves was, as I have said, conventional. The same gentleman is not entirely correct when he states that the Chiriguano women wore shell necklaces. Perhaps they were used by the Tapíi women, where he stayed for a long time in his efforts to see Olympus from Izozo.

301 562 Women's necklaces are abundant and are of different forms and colors. Some are round and black, Mboinu, companion of beads, others red and curly, Mboichanchi, curly beads, and others long and black, Sebadilla. There is also no lack of women who in addition to the above-mentioned ornaments place around their necks a string of silver coins, all of the same size.

/197 cont./

301 These are of ten-centavo or five-centavo pieces, but they try
562 to have them all alike. From what has been said it can be
[437] seen that the necklaces that the women wear are modern,
brought by traders, especially peddlers (2).

> 2. Today neither medios nor reales of pure silver are found, but the Chiriguano Indian women make their necklaces with medios and reales of nickel. These are satisfactory, but the former were better.

301 Modern necklaces are common and also worn by the
184 neophytes, but they do not wear bracelets, which are suitable
only for the infidels. They make a long string of small blue
beads and wrap it around /198/ their wrists, taking care to be
sure that each turn is tight and close to the previous one, and
so on with the rest which follow.

291 The Chiriguano, because he is proud, does not lower him-
301 self to wearing the adornments of neighboring tribes which are
186 inferior to him, but he does easily adapt himself to wearing
177 the clothing and adornments of races which are superior to him.
He does not lower himself to wearing bird feathers, to scarring his face and arms, to wearing wooden earrings, like the Toba and others, but he imitates and attempts to surpass his superiors, the whites, by dressing himself like them, the men wearing the fine hat and the women wearing the wool and silk manta, the young men the footwear and boot, and the maidens foreign earrings. Hence, tiny little girls at the moment they are born have the ear lobe pierced, so that in time, even before they begin to walk, the mother can put a pair of earrings on them, while none of the old women whom I know wears earrings in her ears. This is a sure sign that they never wore ornaments in them, and thus, if the modern Chiriguano women wear them, it is because they have seen women and maidens who came from civilized centers or were born there.

/198 cont./

301 [562] [554] [527] I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called *Aguá*, crown, and whoever wore it was called *Cuña aguá vaé*, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The *aguá* was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

[126] 1. In order to send a complete *aguá* to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

000 Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. *Quaerite primum re[illegible]m Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.*

372 Explanation of the Preceding Illustration ^

1. Sticks for getting fire.
534 2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a *quiriquincho* /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
412 4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

^[i.e., on p. 266.-Analyst]

/199 cont./

301 5. "*Mboivera*," or pieces of silver for adornment.

6, 7, 8. Metal *tembetas*.

9. A hollow-cane *tembeta*.

10. "*Yapicuana*," or band for the hair.

11. "*Aguá*," or long band for adornment of the queen in drinking festivals.

412 12. Wooden comb.

534 13. *Porongo* for playing as a musical instrument.

14, 15. "*Senene*," or Chiriguano flutes.

16. "*Igüiramimbi*" for playing as a musical instrument.

17. Stone ax.

/200/

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction

000 The theory of the founder of the transformist school, in which he attempts to demonstrate and establish the origin of the human race by means of evolution, is completely absurd. /The remainder of the introduction, pp. 200-202, is omitted in the translation. Page 202 continues as follows./

The Family

Genesis tells us of the origin of the human race, and outside of this book all is confusion; faith teaches us that God created the first man in His image and likeness, and later gave him a companion, taking her from his rib, from which it is deduced that the family began in the world, or in historical times, from the beginning of humanity (2).

792
773
871

2. Readers already know the story which Anduari told me regarding the creation of

/202 cont./

797
793
871
> the second Chiriguano man and the second Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621
59
603
It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families. They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831
867
There does not seem to be any other race like the Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[797]
[861]
> 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

181
Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and

000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

797 /203 cont./ Let the reader consider that the work of the missionary, who strives for and dedicates himself to the reduction of the Indian, would not amount to much if he could make light of immorality, a sin which God anciently punished with two floods, one of water and one of fire, thus manifesting His just indignation with these words: *Non permanebit spiritus meus in homine, quia caro est.*

595 With these inclinations not at all restrained, but instead fomented with the five physical senses and all the faculties of the soul, it is not strange that there should exist among the Chiriguano a tendency to very frequent bigamy and polygamy as a luxury or a sign of greatness. /204/ If not all have many wives, it is either because it is not easy to support them or because they are not easily found, because every woman would like to be the only mistress in her house (1).

> 1. In the house of a polygamist or bigamist, the one who gives orders and is in charge as mistress and manager is the oldest, as long as she anticipates her husband's thinking; since, as she knows his irremediable incontinence, in order not to lose her authority in the house, she advises a second and third marriage, etc., and then the master of all of these women imposes the respect due the oldest woman.

[643] Almost all regional caciques are polygamists, and they have a woman in almost every town of their dependency, without counting the eight or twelve that they have in the town where they live. Caciques can do this because they have
595 authority, although they [illegible]ot give them anything. Formerly
178 polygamy was much m[illegible] extensive. It is not so now because
[797] the race has been much reduced, and there has penetrated everywhere, if not the missionary, the Christian, who at times is a reproach for the lasciviousness of the carnal *Ava*.

/204 cont./

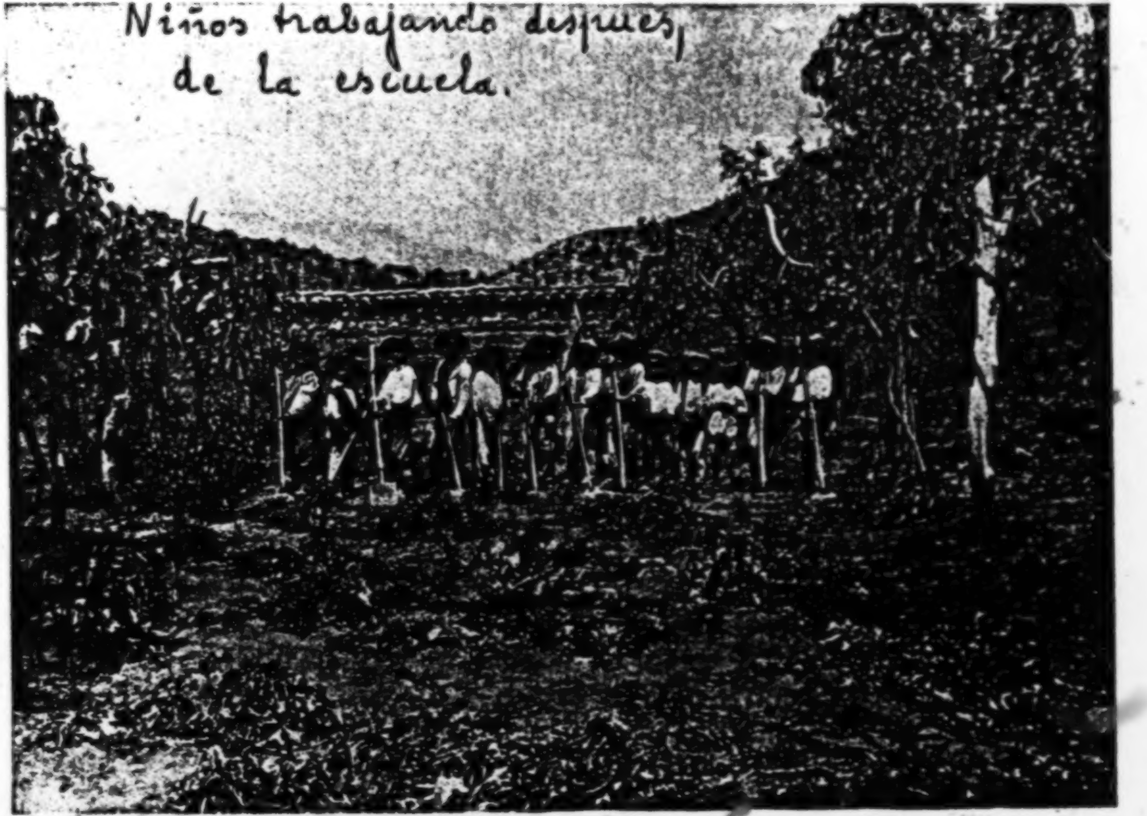
643 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves
648 are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live
797 as they would like very much, but in matters referring to
morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary
makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine
law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 The important men assert that to possess many wives is
574 necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality
829 to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because
643 the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute
king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or
relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much
of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or
for his guests.

595 The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they
622 do not become such in their youth, when they are like humming-
[582] birds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first
wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another
younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has
her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman
to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues
working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she
is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown
out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are
strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of
their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have
lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then
left behind because the man moves to the second wife's
house (1).

[162] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of
[169] wars. Today they are abundant because of the
emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of
Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]



Niños trabajando despues, de la escuela.

Education of neophytes through work

797
464
178

/205 cont./

587 595 When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry; it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (2).

[593] [762] 2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

582 In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect [593] even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

/205 cont./

Method of Contracting a Marriage

584

[581] The Indian has many ways to conclude a naturally legitimate marriage. He must in the first place have good qualities as a hunter and worker. When he has selected the one who is to be the pearl of his eye and has enough courage to ask her parents for her personally, he makes his visits at night to the family /206/ of his intended. These visits are silent until the old people ask him the reason for his coming. [583] The young man at first is confused in his answers, but if he observes by the kindness of the questions that there is a thread of hope, he returns and from time to time makes gifts of maize, cheese, and fruits of his labors, such as gourds, beans, and birds hunted by him.

If the young man's manner pleases the old people, they do everything possible to get their daughter to consent, but often the suitor loses everything, either because the old people do not like him or because she abhors him. This last case happens particularly when the suitor is somewhat older (1).

[581]
[577] 1. Among the Chiriguano nothing is appreciated but the manliness of a man and his goodness; looks, wealth, and the nobility of the house are of no value whatsoever.

When the young man is pusillanimous, a third person is used, as is done in every country. The third party also presents himself at night to smoke his cigar and explain the reason for his visit from the first night on, and naturally everything cannot be arranged on the first night. He must come back repeatedly, and meanwhile there must be no lack of gifts for the future parents-in-law. The suitor customarily also brings bits of firewood collected every morning at dawn, which the older people put into the room, whether the marriage is concluded or not (2).

584
583

584

2. Each day the person charged with making arrangements for the marriage, or the third

/206 cont./

584 party, gives the young suitor an account of what has happened, encouraging him to have hope.

[583] When the old people want it and the daughter is pleased by the young man's manners, the matter is promptly concluded, and the husband enters the wife's house without saying a word for three or four nights, without letting himself be seen in it during the day. On the fourth or fifth day both of them present themselves to the public, sitting at the threshold of the door. Then the bachelor companions of the newly married man come to him and ask him a thousand questions, congratulating him on his luck. The young woman hears all this with much embarrassment, but this is the first and last time. She will not experience this again.

[593] From what has been said it can be deduced that it is not the young woman who seeks out a man to marry, but he; and in the presence of her relatives, friends, or strangers, she will never manifest in any way her love for her husband, [583] however much she may truly love him. This reciprocal love often causes a maiden, because her parents are opposed to the union, to run away /207/ to live with her husband in another tribe for a long time, in the house of her relatives, and return with the marriage already contracted in fact.

585 The Chiriguano are not accustomed to having celebrations in connection with their marriages. Only after the marriage has been consummated does the mother of the newly married man, during the absence of her son in his wife's house, make chicha ferment. On the fifth or sixth day she calls them, has them in the house the whole day, makes them drink a little, prepares a small lunch for them with much affection for her daughter-in-law, gives both of them very sound advice, and sends them off as night approaches (1).

591
583 1. It is the law of the Chiriguano that the husband must live in the house of his father-in-law as soon as marriage is contracted;

/207 cont./

591
583
otherwise they will not give up their daughters. The measure is a very good one; this often keeps a man from abusing his authority because of his respect for the old ones and for fear of being thrown out.

300
Life and Tasks during Marriage

The life of man is a continuous struggle, said St. Job, Militia est vita hominis super terram, but life in marriage is a double struggle: one who passes from the estate of bachelorhood into that of marriage sees it as soon as the honeymoon is over. The missionary dedicated to the conversion of infidels, like the parish priest in the administration of a parish, can readily testify as to whether the suffering of his married parishioners is or is not greater than that of his unmarried parishioners.

585 A new life then begins for the Chiriguano newlyweds. As soon as the intimate meal in the husband's house is over, they go out in public freely, go out into the countryside, get supplies of maize, firewood, and water, make the drink ferment, and, when this is ready, invite their relatives and friends and enjoy themselves for a day, without becoming disorderly. Even the neophytes do this on the day of marriage, because they have seen that that is what the white Christians do (2).

[606] 2. This party is held in the house of the parents-in-law, for which reason both of the old people help efficiently, the one in bringing in firewood and the other, the mother, helping her young daughter in everything, including serving the drinkers.

/207 cont./

462 The woman among the Chiriguano is a true slave, and
562 the man her master. His work for the family is limited to
planting and weeding, as well as fetching the necessary fire-
[517] wood. In addition, /208/ as a diversion and pastime, he
takes his bow and arrow, goes out into the countryside and
hunts, or fishes in a nearby river, spending the rest of his time
talking with his friends, recounting exploits, telling stories,
Miani, playing cards and throwing dice, even going so far
as to bet the tipoy or cutama of his wife.

She, on the contrary, is the work horse of the house. She
[482] carries the maize with her Añapoca, a kind of net, goes to
[515] the spring and carries on her shoulders and over long distances
some 50 libras of water, prepares food, makes chicha, cleans
her house, spins, weaves ponchos, makes ollas, cares for her
children, raises animals such as pigs, chickens, sheep, and
goats, makes cheese if she has cows, and, as if all this were
not enough, in the afternoon she sits down next to her lazy
husband, releases his healthy hair, and as a distraction goes
looking through that labyrinth for the insects which nest there,
without feeling any disgust. I am not talking about killing
[262] them, but about doing away with some with her teeth and
making a snack out of others, a very simple thing for these
women.

562 Everything is permitted for the man. He can play upon
593 words and make lascivious jokes with other women, but this
is not permitted for the wife, nor can she even cast a sidelong
glance, which would be enough to cause her to be maltreated
and divorced. How many things there are in nature! It is
painful to see a mother with her four or five little ones abandoned
to suffer hunger and despair, while the rascal of a husband
with no just cause at all goes happily off with another, giving
her the little that he earns and then getting rid of her at the
first chance (1).

593
586 1. When the man turns out to be too lazy, it
is the woman who leaves him, going off with
another, and the children go with her, because

/208 cont./

593
586 love can accomplish much, and they really love their children, without making much outward show of this.

Finally, the man, whenever he wishes, can dismiss his wife with great ease. He does it with contempt, in biting words, calling her Cuña pochi, bad woman, Cuña imuquere, lost woman, good only for lighting the fire. No one could endure such scorn for an hour, and she understands that the rascal has won the love of another, younger woman.

515 When a mother goes to the spring or river, she takes her son or daughter with her, bathes herself and also her child, and then grinds up some grains of Ñetira, a kind of potash, leaving her hair and that of her daughter clean and shiny. The bath is daily, but the washing of the hair with ñetira is not.

/209/

Pregnancy and Birth

843 When a woman finds herself pregnant, she does not give up her customary chores, but goes to the field as usual and fetches from there heavy loads of maize and other things.

482 They use for this, as I have already noted, a kind of close-
285 woven net which the Toba make with the bark of the caraguata
[171] or maguey. Those made by the Chiriguano are like the wooden fruit-baskets /chipas/. They are open on top, where they have an easily untied cord, in the middle of which there is a wide band for holding the weight with the forehead (1).

482

1. The Chiriguano woman lets all the weight of the load she is carrying rest on her spinal column, etc., holding it with her forehead. If the water is some distance away, she does the same; if not, she carries the vessel vertically on her left shoulder, or on her head, where she places a pad of rags.

/209 cont./

843 262 415 [753] Near the time of giving birth, she carries less weight, prepares what is necessary, which consists of some cloth pads and her new little olla in which to cook the maize which she must eat boiled. If the olla were old or used, the newborn would be subject to mal caduco, or epilepsy, and if a woman who has just given birth were to eat parched maize, her breasts would dry up and would not give milk for feeding the child.

844 At the time of giving birth the only person left in the house is the midwife; the others, even the husband, go out, but he returns as soon as the birth has taken place, in order to lend some help to his wife and the midwife, who alone cannot attend to the newborn child and its mother, who fights with her very life against the pains, for which she is consoled at the sight of the fruit of her womb, which for a moment makes her forget her present suffering.

They at once cover with sand every trace of the event, wrap up with bands, cloths, or other things the body of the woman who has just given birth, and lay her on the ground face down, making her rest on a bed which has little or no resemblance to such, but as every Chiriguano woman is strong, she puts up with this as though she were in a featherbed.

184 846 Throughout the whole world birth is a very dangerous thing, and it is even here. The Chiriguano women also need considerable rest. When some old women were asked about the matter, they stated that childbirth formerly lasted almost two weeks, and they marvel that the neophytes get up so quickly, returning to their customary labors within eight days; they attribute this robustness to the lack of strict fasting in the years of puberty.

846 /210/ It is consequently an error to state that puerperae go to the lake or river to bathe from the second or third day, much less on the same day as the birth. Natural reason would not allow the latter. There might have been some extraordinary case in which some woman walked immediately after giving birth, but it would not cease to be an extraordinary case. The [178] neophytes are abandoning the custom of their grandmothers and

/310 cont./

846 178 slowly accepting that of the whites. They do not come out of the house until they are completely well, and they only do it on a Sunday morning. They then wear a new dress for the first time and present themselves at the door of the church to receive the post partum blessing (1).

> 1. I saw an extraordinary case, from which no illness resulted. They have been accustomed to the post partum blessing by the virtuous old mistresses, and they continue this.

846 858 302 Soon, in a week or two, the woman is completely well, and she is allowed to go out to bathe and paint her face with urucu, returning gradually to her usual tasks. Childbirth is 846 844 785 regarded by the Chiriguano as a time of fasting, in which some authors say that all the members of the family participate, but this is not true; only the husband shares this obligation, and he does it for two or three days (2).

> 2. They say that it is necessary for the baby's father to fast so that it may not die nor any harm come to it when it grows up.

797 785 844 178 The missionaries try to eradicate from the neophytes the superstition that is represented by the husband's fasting, but when their mothers see that their grandchildren are dying, they reprehend in their children the abandonment of the customs of yesteryear. I knew an old woman who was very attached to these customs and who tried in every way to force her son to fast, in view of the fact that the newborn babies died every time her daughter-in-law gave birth.

/210 cont./

Infant Care

854 [352] For the newborn child to rest in, they have a kind of net which they hang at one end of the lodging. Its mother places it there when it sleeps, and she covers it with a piece of cloth so that the flies will not bother it. Some wool or cotton hammocks are crudely made /211/ by them, and these are called Ini ó quiha, the last term of which literally means quietness.

The mother almost never leaves her newborn child, and to go to the spring or to the river she takes advantage of the time when it is asleep, leaving it in the care of some person, even a little one. She cannot yet carry it in the folds of her clothing, because the child's tender limbs cannot bear such a position. Only when they have become somewhat stronger does the mother walk from one end of the town to the other, to the field, to the spring, without leaving her child at home, like weasels or like the kangaroos of Australia, who do not leave their young in the caves when they go out, making leaps like a jerboa.

147 854 The sun in the Chiriguano region is very hot and yet children exposed to its action do not feel its effects very much, if at all. They receive its rays perpendicularly, from in front, from all sides, and square on their faces, and it is as though they were in the shade. The only effect that it has on them is the copper color of the race, because experience has shown that this color is acquired (1).

142 (1) The color of the newborn babies is rather strange; they look like mice. Many newborn babies are completely white, but not like Europeans; the difference between the former and the latter can be seen immediately.

/211 cont./

853 There is no special food or more abundant food for
262 mothers after childbirth. She who gives her breasts to her little
one eats little and extremely poorly. Her ordinary food is
parched maize, parched maize meal, bread made of the same,
herbs, beans, gourds, other things of this nature, and rarely
a little purchased beef, other meat from animals that died
from sickness, lack of pasture, or snake bite, and, finally,
game or chicken. In spite of this extremely bad food, milk
is abundant in her breasts; the children are almost always
hanging from them and sucking and never seem to dry them
up, which indicates that they are excellent nursers.

648 Mestizo or white mothers who sometimes have little or
464 no breast milk because of sickness or some accident make
853 contracts with Chiriguano mothers, pay them well, and treat
them better, but it seems that continued good and satisfactory
nursing harms them, /212/ it also being prejudicial to the
breast as well as to both newborn babies, the weaker child
succumbing first (1).

1. Naturally the Chiriguano women refuse to be wet nurses for white children, because they abhor them. When through experience they learn of the sad consequences, communicated by others, they resist even more and only do it when force or the right of the stronger prevails.

845 Twins

[163] Multiple births are rare, and those of two children are
[165] frequent. In the former case the newborn babies die very soon,
and in the latter case one almost always lives, and many times
736 both live. When twins survive or through the death of the
603 mother a newborn child is left an orphan, it is very easy for
the grandmother to care for one twin or the orphaned child.
[853] Although the old woman may have reached or passed 60, she
[824]

/212 cont./
736 very easily manages to make the milk come down. She
603 grinds watermelon seed or sarsaparilla root, *Isipocagua*, and
824 washes herself repeatedly, squeezing herself over or above her
853 breasts, and makes the famished child suck continuously
for several days, and in a short time she achieves the desired
result. Sometimes even young women lose their milk. They
then look for the root and juice of the *sámolo*, or *cipoi*, wash
the breasts with this juice, and succeed in nursing their
children again (2).

2. In the confirmation administered by the Bishop in October, 1909, in Ivu Mission, an old woman of some 60 years of age presented her granddaughter, whom she had nursed. She is still alive, and so is the twin granddaughter, although not very strong.

Joy and Grief

855 For the Chiriguano race their joy at the birth of a male
child is the same as at that of a female child, because if
the former helps his father in field chores and in hunting and
fishing, the latter helps her mother in household chores, and the
father as much as the grandfather very much like to eat meal
which has been ground by the hands /213/ of their daughter
765 or granddaughter. If either one dies, the grief that the old
855 people feel is very heavy. I witnessed many times a mother's
agonies of grief over the death of her son and the profound
feeling of the father over the irreparable loss of his idolized
daughter.

797 What I am going to relate will better convince my
758 readers. In the month of July in the year 1909, a rabid dog
164 at the girls' school of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission
bit Cecilia Yąguándai slightly and Ana Yarandui and Delina
Aragúndai more severely. The two latter, younger than the

/213 cont./

797 first, came to me to be treated for their wounds, to which I
758 applied cotton soaked with ammonia, of which I also made
164 them drink five drops. The two went through a high fever for four days, but they are alive. Cecilia did not consider her bite very important and did not come to me; I did not know that she had been bitten. She did not have a high fever either, because in fact scarcely any blood came out, according to what her companions say.

The month of January came, just six months after June, and the little girls who had been treated with ammonia again had the same degree of fever and recovered. The other girl began to be afraid of water and to be laughed at by her companions for this fear, so much so that she was the object of foolish tricks. She went down to the town, she wanted to drink water, was unable to, and she told her parents. At once she said that she had pain in her wrist, in her little breast, and in her shoulder, and nothing could be done to treat her; the sickness got worse and she received the last rites. The night before she died she tried to run out of the house; she howled without rest and tried to hit and bite her mother. In all, she had true hydrophobia, which carried her to the grave in three days (1).

> 1. The child Cecilia was bitten by the rabid dog right on her wrist, which is where the first pain began six months later. When I blessed her with holy water, she was afraid and shrank away.

Until she was buried, I did not know what had happened in the month of July, but when I saw such a similarity to rabies, I inquired and it turned out to be this which had
753 caused her death. Her parents, since they could not be
754 persuaded that the bite could produce an effect after so long a time, attributed her violent death to sorcery, stating that this must have been done by a young man who a few days earlier

/214/

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 [764] The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 765 I have related this event so that my readers may know that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114

1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

Deformed Children

845 847 732 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/214 cont./

845 I judge that they take away the lives of these unfortunates,
847 not to do them harm, but to do a highly philanthropic act for
732 them, since they would have even greater suffering were they
to be left blind, crippled, lame, one-handed, mute, and
deaf for the rest of their lives (2).

[171] 2. Similar philanthropic acts are still practiced
[734] among the Toba and other tribes; so that they
will not suffer much and long, they also bury
sick persons alive.

732 Today one sees an occasional deformed person, and these
isolated cases are either due to parents not brave enough to
kill /215/ their children or perhaps they can be attributed to
-181 illnesses contracted at an advanced age. As a conclusion to
the present chapter, let it be noted that some have written things about which they know nothing, making the Chiriguano out to be ferocious wild animals without compassion, but a particular fact cannot be used to draw general conclusions. True explorers state, as I do, that in general the Chiriguano is humanitarian; he loves his relatives in life and in death, and they are astounded by the conduct of the whites, who upon the death of their relatives slaughter cattle, drink brandy, and play as if it were a fiesta (1).

000

1. The conduct of certain civilized persons should not be reproved by the world. Even in the most civilized nations there are benefit dances. They drink, dance, and do other things, while the poor or the sick suffer. The Catholic takes out his money and gives it away in secret, without ever bragging about it; this is the true way to help humanity.

/216/

Chapter Nine

881

Children, Puberty, the Tembeta (1)

1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the *tembeta* for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

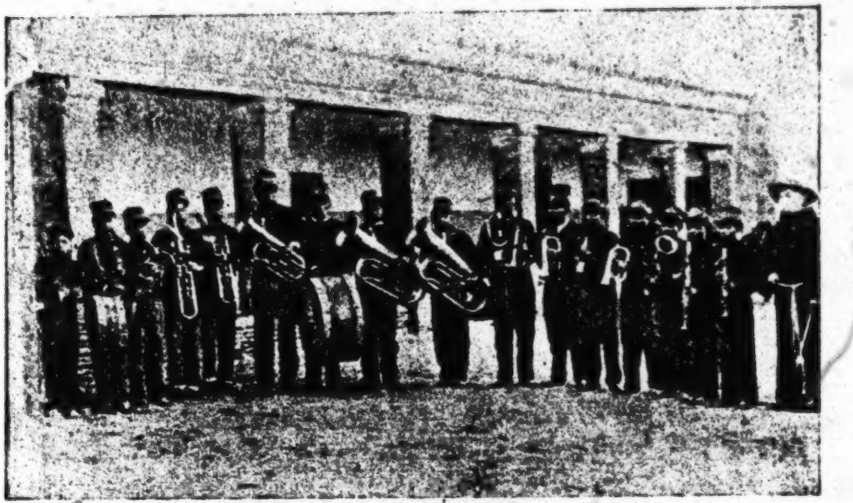
797 533 [126] At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfgango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

[648] All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the *tembeta* and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

175 648 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the *caray* /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

4: Nino--294 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
533



The S. Buenaventura de Ivo Band

/217 cont./

175 648 [797] The parents of these youths would not have thrown themselves into a disastrous war if the Supreme Government had quickly decreed the founding of the mission which they desired, as can be read in the history of the Colegio de Potosí; in it is clearly seen what the Ivu people did to try to have the presence of a missionary father, because political authority always showed itself to be humanitarian with the unfortunate Indians.

It has now been 19 years since that bloodletting, and still the pampas of Curuyuqui are sown with human bones; one can still see traces of their fortifications, where they fought like lions, with such unequal weapons; the memory of that horrible and destructive occurrence is still retained (1).

1. Some 500 men and women died in the war, but almost all were outsiders; the others, who knew the place, saved themselves by taking flight and hiding. They do not like to have anyone talk to them about this uprising.

797 As a consequence of the war the decree to found the
871 mission came, and just a few days after the defeat the
[648] measuring and laying out of the necessary land was done.
[175] Today fathers and sons live tranquilly; some of them have
gone on to a better or to a worse life, many have experienced
the paternal government of the missionary, which they do
not tire of praising. The sons have learned the religion and
practice it. They have learned the alphabet and read books.
They have learned religious singing, and several of them
know and play the music which has been taught to them by
797 the missionaries. It is truly surprising to see the changes
which have been brought about in such a short time in such
bellicose Indians! This is the virtue of the Cross! Others
could have done nothing, as nothing had been done or will be

/217 cont./

797 done wherever there are no missionaries (2).

> 2. In every sense civilization brought by the missionary is preferable. Colonization of the sort which they are trying to implant today is very costly, brings little material progress and no moral progress. I refer to the latter more than to the former.

Education of the Children

560 In man, love and tenderness for his children is natural; just as the birds, the animals, and the very beasts of the forest love /218/ and take care of their young, this same inclination, with much greater reason, is found in the rational creature made in the image and appearance of God. /The remainder of this paragraph and the next two paragraphs on p. 218 are omitted in the translation. The last paragraph on p. 218 follows./

The true love of fathers for their children is only found in the Catholic Religion; this can be proved by many examples of incredulous persons who, despite their incredulity, taught the catechism to their children. Outside of Catholicism, /219/ the potential of the soul is not cultivated, a pure materialism is taught, and how can anyone who does not profess any religion at all educate his children? What education will he be able to give if, in addition to this, he is ignorant? His tenderness or love will scarcely have any effect, never a moral one.

855 This is the tenderness of the Chiriguano. They love their children truly; all of the work of the Chiriguano is only aimed toward the corporal well-being of the child; he gets his daily food for him, thinks about his clothing, sweats in order to shelter him and defend him from the inclemency of the seasons, from the fury of the winds, and from the impetuosity of the rain, but he does not concern himself with his morality.

/219 cont./

855 The child grows up in his sight with all the imperfections of little lambs or kids, because that is also the way in which he, the father, grew up.

855 462 When children of either sex are still in swaddling clothes, they receive the care of the mother, the grandmother, or other women who may be very closely related. It is unusual for a man to take care of newborn children, both because this is natural in all the countries of the world and because it would offend his dignity. But when the child begins to open his eyes well and to have some understanding of external things, he takes it in his arms with all the love that the child in its innocence inspires.

But the one who normally cares for the children of both sexes until the age of six or seven years is the mother. She washes them, bathes them, puts them to sleep, nurses them, takes them from one place to another, carrying them in the folds of her clothes. The father only helps at this task when the mother cannot attend to it because she has others, or because she is busy making chicha, preparing food, etc. (1).

1. If there is no mother because of death or for some other reason, the man finds himself in a difficult situation with regard to his children and quickly seeks out a female relative.

868

School of Arms and Strategy

At the age of seven years and even sooner, the father takes special charge of his male child, with the girls remaining in the charge of the mother; he makes for his son a bow and arrows suitable for his age and strength and begins to train him, teaching him to use them and the way to aim and shoot (2).

2. The father takes his son to the woods, where he begins to hunt little birds, and, if he manages to get some, he takes them

/219 cont./

868 to his mother with satisfaction and then tells his companions about it.

/220/ There are also men who teach boys the way to be quick in fights and even the way to dodge enemy arrows, as well as bullets. The man who teaches this is called Puruncanise, or man who scratches. He is the terror of the boys in the town where he lives. The method he uses is to run after the boys, and woe to the one who out of weakness or carelessness lets himself be caught! In the hands of the puruncanise he suffers the martyrdom of being scratched all over his body with long fingernails, which he lets grow on purpose, in addition to the blame he gets for letting himself be caught by an old man. In a second race it is not likely that the boy being taught will let himself be caught (1).

868
554
463

868
856
237

> 1. Those who are older have the calf of the leg scratched with the tooth of the Acuti /agouti/ by another of the art. A lot of blood comes out of this, and upon recovering, they say that they are very good at running and can resist fatigue much more than those who did not allow themselves to be scratched.

882 When all the boys of the tribe have received practical lessons from such a neighbor, they indeed may be ready for war, because skill consists in knowing how to shoot in order to injure and also how to dodge the enemy arrow. The Indians who know such strategy are called Queremba by their companions.

[554]

721
726
797

In the last war of Curuyuqui, the Indians attacked the Santa Rosa Mission while Colonel don Tomás Frías was there. He chose as a target an Indian Queremba who seemed to be the chief of the company and lost some eight or ten bullets without having the pleasure of felling him. Almost all the Indians learn this way of fighting; hence their combats do not last long. That of Curuyuqui lasted eight hours because they were sheltered in trenches.

/220 cont./

859 868 The boys have different ways of learning how to be accurate in shooting arrows and to be good hunters and brave warriors. In the field or in the woods they amuse themselves usefully, ambushing and taking as a target little birds and even grasshoppers when there are any, and when they go back home they give proof of their manliness by sticking the arrow into the mortar in which their mother customarily grinds maize.

859 When the boys gather together in the town, they learn the
868 use of the arrow, shooting it at a wooden wheel which one of
526 them makes roll as fast as he can. This wheel is made of
[411] a type of round cactus which grows a cuarta or a little more
[824] and is called Zipepe. The boys, armed with arrows, line up,
and the best one will succeed in driving his into the soft material of the zipepe. /221/ The zipepe is at the same time a
school for target shooting and a game; of the latter they have
524 others which I shall name in passing. They have the Pinono, top.
This is different from that of the towns of the Republic. It is a small gourd with a hole in the middle in the upper part. When they spin it, the air produces a prolonged sound like that of little calves who are lowing very gently, and from this comes its name, Pinono.

Another game for young and old is pelota, which has a definite season. This is when there is fresh maize, or the cold is beginning to be felt. They call it Topo, and it is done with the husk of fresh maize; thus, when the fresh maize season ends, the game of pelota also ends, and they amuse themselves with many other games that they have (1).

000

---

1. These will not be listed because this is not the subject of this chapter, and in addition it would be very tiring for the reader.

/221 cont./

Private Life

593 888 The father and mother take great pains for the material or corporal well-being of their children, both male and female, and they in turn have affection for their parents. Nevertheless there is no lack of creatures with very bad inclinations, who forget their parents' goodness, forget the labors undertaken by the latter in caring for them in their tender years, and abandon them in their old age in the midst of their suffering and privations.

593 861 867 273 The father and mother almost never address harsh words to their children; much less do they correct them with corporal punishment. The children attend the public drinking sessions in the company of their parents, and how strange it can seem to see father and son sometimes drunk together in the streets or in the plaza of the town! They see their fathers in other people's fields, taking advantage of the first fruits, and then the son does what he has seen. He hears his mother telling stories not at all clean, he sees acts not at all moral, he witnesses altercations in the house, hears his mother's jealousy, sees his father's bad deeds, and he thus will naturally follow the same path when he arrives at an age of competence and even before.

855 603 581 If the woman is very young when she is married, as often happens, it is the grandparents who take care of the grandchildren so that the young daughter may have more time to enjoy herself, since in the beginning /222/ marriage is nothing but fun for the young people (1).

855 593 606 1. Young girls help their mothers in the care of their own children and in the preparation of chicha, knowing that the drunken husband will first hit her, or even his parents-in-law if they try to protect her.

/222 cont./

553
551
603

The Giving of the Name and Puberty

The giving of the name is done when the boy or little girl begins to understand and articulate words, so that by repetition it may be impressed on their memory and they may know what their name is. Generally, grandmothers in the case of girls and grandfathers in the case of boys have the privilege of giving the name, and they do this by noting some physical peculiarity of the little boys and girls, such as Tesapona, pretty eyes, Saanti, white eyes, Cuñanti, white woman. But sometimes no peculiarity is noted, and they baptize them with the name of parts of the body of animals, such as Yaguacupe, jaguar spine, Tatunai, armadillo tooth, Yaguaracu, jaguar fever. Generally, women's names end in Iru, that is, vessel or receptacle. Thus, for the Chiriguano a woman is something born and destined to serve him as he thinks best (2).

000 2. Only Catholicism, brought by the Redeemer and preached by the apostles, reinstates woman; where it has not penetrated, she remains a slave, as in Africa and in other places on the globe.

881 For children of both sexes a critical period approaches, the period of puberty, which in many is precocious and which normally occurs at the age of 11 or 12. The life or death of the Chiriguano, his future well-being or misfortunes, depend on this critical period. If all the prescriptions engraved on the minds of the family fathers are observed by those who reach that age, all the rest of their lives will be a delight, and, if not, every kind of calamity will overcome them.

When the maiden shows the first symptoms of puberty, Yimundía, her parents make her rest for a few days until what many out of modesty call sickness, Mbaerasi, goes away. Then she is put in a hammock or something similar, and, lying down on it like a body without a soul, she is

/223/

881 raised to the ceiling. They leave her there for a period of [785] four days in strict fasting and, of course, without her opening her mouth to speak to anybody, not even to ask for necessary things, because if she should talk or ask for anything, misfortune would appear at once.

At the end of this first test, which the maiden has scarcely felt, they lower her on the fifth day, wash her head with potash of Ñetira, and shave off the adolescent girl's hair. Meanwhile in a corner of the house far from the door, they have prepared a wall like a corner piece, made out of slender sticks a meter and 50 centimeters high more or less. [785] Wrapped in her tipoi or clean clothing, the unfortunate girl goes there, into her pen, and begins her strict fast, which they call Yicuacu, or hiding (1).

1. This rigorous way of life does not seem at all strange to the maidens, because before it comes their mothers have prepared them for it, and they believe in everything with blind faith.

The girl remains in her enclosure for a week without doing anything, with face to the wall in order not to see or talk to [262] anybody. Her usual fare is boiled maize, Atiruru. Sometimes she also eats meat if there is any, but in very small quantities. She neither tastes nor desires other foods. Were she to eat parched maize, she would not be good at feeding her children when she has them, because her breasts would be [271] dry all her life. Her usual beverage should be natural clear water. Were she to drink chicha, she would be barren, [273] because it contains alcohol and acridness, which would stop the [842] effects of conception during her marriage.

881 When the week is over, the fasting continues, but less 868 harshly; her parents have obtained cotton or wool, have 867 prepared the spindle and wheel, with the little potsherd in 283 which they put a few ashes or sand so that the spindle will turn more easily. The mother hands over all this to her daughter, who begins to work and learns that she has been born for work.

/223 cont./

881
868
867
283
The young girl receives her mother's injunctions without uttering a word, without making any comment, respects the advice and admonishments in the same silence and more than that of a mute, because she hears and keeps quiet without making any movement at all, without raising her eyes or moving her head. She begins her work as soon as her mother withdraws; she combs the wool or cotton with her fingers, cleans it of /224/ whatever dirt it may contain, and begins to spin, a duty learned from early childhood (1).

[785] 1. The maiden who fasts can only work in the place where she is enclosed; therefore she cannot help her mother even to clean the house.

881
868
867
286
When her mother sees that she has enough to make some small article, she directs the weaving, and the first thing that is made is the Hapicuana for her father and then another for her mother, with which they are very happy, and even their friends congratulate them on the work of the daughter, for whom they, of course, profess sympathy and respect as a sacred person, because she is in the period of fasting or hiding, since both things are done when these maidens reach puberty (2).

2. The same word, Yicuacu, is used for the fasts ordered by the Church for neophytes. There is no other word in the language.

881
885
During the first month or first moon, Yasi, the seclusion or hiding is the most rigorous, because the symptoms of puberty should manifest themselves two times in order that they may be considered true ones, that is to say, the Chiriguano do not believe that a woman is ready for marriage until after it has been ascertained that her menstruation is regular. This, which for women is their relief and their health, is called Hugüi in adults, but for pubescent girls the first as well as the second is called, as I have already said, Yimundía.

/224 cont./

881
885 After this neither the fasting nor the hiding or seclusion are so rigorous, and occasionally the maiden, who is now a woman, comes out of her pen into public life, returns to domestic chores, and begins to attend the drinking sessions in order to be seen and to catch the attention of the young men. An occasional one will do this, but the majority, taking their parents' advice, persist and continue fasting until their hair grows out again, even to the shoulders, and others persist for a year without coming out into the light, with the result that many of them become quite pale like alabaster, and, like people with light-blue eyes, when they come out into the light they see very little. But with the whiteness of their skin, their smooth and shiny hair, and their blue eyes, with their ornaments of necklaces and bracelets, and the achiote cosmetics which they charmingly have had put on their cheeks and brows by their older companions, they inspire the admiration of all the people who have congregated (3). /Illustration appears here./

> 3. The reader will easily understand that to come out of seclusion is like a wife who comes out of her house to move into that of her husband; for this reason one comes out highly adorned.

881
867 /225/ During the fasting and seclusion, the maiden does not go out by day; her going out is done at night, not for diversion, but only for what is absolutely necessary, and this is generally done very early, before daybreak, so that she may get used to not being lazy, so that she may know that she ought to be very diligent, to avoid being deceived by sleep, because the one who is to be her companion for life is accustomed to eating early, before going to the field or the forest. For this reason a woman must be an early riser in order to prepare what is necessary for herself, for her husband, and for her children, who also ask for food soon after awakening.

[text continues on p. 306]

7790
133

41 Mine--305 M-3 (1888-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

Panorama of the S. Pascual Mission

/225 cont./

881 When she goes out at night, her mother accompanies her,
867 but before this is done she receives a thousand pieces of ad-
593 vice and admonishment to walk slowly and very carefully, not to step on things that might injure her, such as excrement and other things that her enemies or evil spirits have scattered around the house, especially by the door and along the path which she must follow. The maiden listens and keeps quiet, absorbs everything, and does everything as well as or better than a Carthusian novice, because her mother has already filled her head with so many superstitions and has frightened her with too many dangers.

The father rarely concerns himself with his daughter during the fasting period; he only sees to it that she does not lack food and work. He rarely talks to her, but he loves her like
[574] his own eyes and soul. Other persons cannot address her, nor do her parents permit many and prolonged visits during that period; in addition everyone also knows that that house is now sacred and abstains as much as possible from frequenting it (1).

> 1. When an attempt was made to reorganize the S. Antonio Mission of Parapiti, the daughter of a prestigious Indian was keeping a strict fast. It was said of her that she could die, it was so strict. Hardly anyone could see her, and the poor girl in fact did die a short time later.

885 When the seclusion period decided on by her parents ends,
195 the girl puts away her clothing of what we might call penitence, washes her face, combs her hair, now grown out, adorns her cheeks with the help of her friends, adorns her neck and throat with necklaces of beads, reales, or medios of silver, puts bracelets on her wrists, rings on her fingers, puts on her tipoi of drill or chintz, in various colors, and goes out in public in order that thus decked out she will arouse admiration and some young man may fall in love with her and ask for her to be his wife when it seems appropriate to him, because now she is no longer a child, but a woman who can carry out

/225 cont./

885 195 her duties /226/ serve her companion in whatever he may wish, and henceforth in her answers she ceases to use the ú ú which children use and adopts the é é suitable for women.

885 571 The young woman, in spite of being scarcely 13 years old when she comes out into public life, and despite a slight embarrassment which she feels when first presented to society as a woman ready and suitable for marriage, little by little begins to lose this misgiving, very natural in girls, and acquires frankness in answering quite clearly persons who may question her, whoever it may be, always staying within the limits of morality. What is immoral will cause astonishment in her and perhaps embarrassment at the beginning, but she soon becomes accustomed to it, because she hears it in the house, she hears it at the drinking bouts, during the gatherings and parties. From hearing a lot of this, it begins to cause pleasure in her, which brings on a continual and loud laughter, since day or night the women laugh long and loud. This is usually a sure sign that in a gathering or party there is some gallant present who is giving free rein to his tongue (1).

1. Missionaries who know the language of the Indians and who find themselves at the beginning in a new mission may be astonished by the frankness with which boys and girls of 12 or 13 years answer them.

[827] The men state that their wives are better at enduring hunger and thirst. They attribute this to the strict fasting which they undergo at puberty, but the women say that the neophytes are stronger than they, because they go out sooner after giving birth.

881 178 In none of the missions do the maidens follow the custom of their mothers at the time of puberty. When the first signs appear, the only thing conceded to them is some three days leave for rest, and so that her mother may tell her, as should be done in analogous circumstances, to hide what must be hidden. When this short leave ends, they return to school as before, and continue their work without any inconvenience (2).

2. Many of these maidens, out of modesty,

/226 cont./

881 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even
178 their mothers, and the consequences are sad
in no few cases. They do not tell anyone
because the older girls make fun of them.

163 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the
582 neophytes, when they get to the age of about 35, stop having
children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at
581 about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano
women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they
came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they
contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with
the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until
giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored
797 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the
581 missions; those who contract marriage do it for life, because
it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the
natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano
does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a
hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping
at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such
785 as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the
184 Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month
the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and
they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that
they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned
sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing
the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be
178 noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous
177 fast for the female sex is observed in very few places; today
the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making
them understand that all this is superstition, because of the
example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they
have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/227 cont./

881 178 177 health, contract marriage, serve their husbands very efficiently, and educate their children, who are born with all the perfection of nature (1).

000 1. In the Chiriguano region, even in that part won by the missionaries of Potosí after the year 1870, many maidens of the white race have contracted marriage, having reached a suitable age.

Imposition of the Tembeta

855 The education of the boy, as has already been seen, is the task of both parents. Up to a certain age it is almost exclusively that of the mother, and after the age of six or seven years, exclusively that of the father, who accustoms him to field chores, to hunting, and even to fishing in the areas where there are large rivers. 226 462 Fishing is done by the women in the little streams, and the men assist them in the diversion of the water and setting up two boundaries in the form of a \/, open to allow the water to pass through, a job they call Parirenta.

881 [195] [304] [301] [885] [554] /228/ The time now comes for the boy to be a man and not a boy, the time to give up the ú ú of his affirmative answers and to adopt the Ta suitable for the Cuimbae, or man ready for everything. His father, his grandfather, his mother, and other relatives make him understand that for this it is necessary that he show his companions the distinctive mark of the tribe, that is to say, it is necessary to have his lower lip, Tembe, pierced and to place in the hole the Tembeta, which for the Chiriguano is a sign of his manliness (1).

[192] 1. The tembeta is a word made up of tembe, lower lip, and ta or ita, stone, which literally translated, means stone for the lower lip, where it is put.

/228 cont./

301 [304] The Tembeta usually is a small round piece of tin with two little ears or hooks on the sides which serve to hold it in the pierced lip. The circle of the tembeta is hollow up to near the surface of the hooks; a little wax is put in it, and the ornaments, such as coralline or little light-blue stones of little value, are set in the wax. What is somewhat valuable is the Itogüi, a small green stone in one piece which fills the entire hole of the tembeta. I have one of these, and its stone is fixed in place with a little prong of the same tin. The tembetas are also of hollow cane and of wood, but never of stone, as some writers have stated (2).

2. Though tembeta literally means lip stone, this does not come from its being made of stone; the literal meaning come[illegible]om itogüí, which is a stone. The itogüí is also set in those of wood.

178 301 The tembeta, already described, is relatively new. Before Christians and missionaries came into their country the tembetas were of wood, and they were of the same form as the tin ones, with all the ornamentation, but most people used a piece of hollow cane, especially when they were working. [304] This is a little piece of cane cut at a node, which is thinner in the hole in order to be held in the pierced lip. In these there is neither ornament nor wax, because they are for the poor, and for the rich only when they are working.

301 [435] The Itogüi had considerable value among the Indians, being worth a horse, a cow, a burro, etc., but, as I have already said, it was a relative value, since in Tarija, from where they brought them, their value was two bolivianos. From this it can be concluded that the itogüi is not found in [171] Chiriguano country. It owes its origin to the Incas or Quichuas /Quechua/. /229/ but it is the Chiriguano who work the tembetas, in which they set the itogüi, or green stone.

/229 cont./

881 304 [821] For the piercing of the lip, a full moon is necessary, so that the open wound will not have bad results, will gradually get larger, and will not form a swelling. The boys who are ready for the tembeta must not be younger than seven years of age or older than 12. In the first case they would not be able to stand the pain, and in the second the piercing would be difficult because the lip would have hardened.

Thus, when the moon is at its maximum and the boy is of the proper age, he little by little becomes prepared for the operation. The mother and father prepare him with loving words, stimulating his vanity so that he may afterward be esteemed and loved by the girls. Then they make him understand the need for piercing his lip, [186] [885] so that everyone will know that he belongs to the noble Chiriguano race and is worthy of being a member of it; finally, they make him understand that only when he has the tembeta will the grandees of the nation respect him and treat him kindly (1).

> [869] [171] 1. Christian mothers, to encourage their sons to endure suffering and even martyrdom itself, show them Heaven, an invisible dwelling place. The savage infidels encourage their children with earthly promises, such as the love of women; qui de terra est; de terra loquitur; this is the effect of ignorance.

The boy hears the nice things that his parents say to him as a deaf man hears music. What he considers more and what occupies all his concern is the pain that the opening of his lip is going to cause him. Nevertheless, he cannot hide or run away; he must submit to the operation in spite of his fear of it. 304 881 759 In fact, before the full moon the father goes with his son to the house of the surgeon and tells him the reason for his visit, asking him to make his boy into a man. The surgeon-doctor makes an appointment for the next day or another one, and in the meantime he looks for a second boy to undergo the

/229 cont./

304 759 881 same operation, because he never takes one alone. There must always be two, four, six, eight, or ten (2).

> [801] 2. In a town of 30 or 40 families there was usually never any lack of boys of the same age. The number of the boys to be pierced should never be an odd number; superstition and nothing else.

304 881 [785] [114] The boys appear for the operation on the designated day, led by their fathers and mothers. Meanwhile, other curious persons gather there, men, women, boys, and girls, to see and /230/ attend this solemn act, which, as I have learned, is not preceded by any day of fasting; thus what certain writers have said in this regard is wrong, as is the rest that refers to the person who does the operation, for whom the qualification of being an *Ipaye*, sorcerer, is not required for the imposition of the *tembeta*.

Before beginning the operation the surgeon authoritatively addresses those who are to be men, telling them to be valiant and strong in their pain, without letting their moans be heard or crying, because these are not the signs of a brave man, of a man who wears the *tembeta*, which is the sign of virility, of [195] a man who must be able to face the dangers of war. Finally, he orders them that it is time to give up the *ú*, *ú* in their answers, and in its place he orders them to replace it with *Ta*.

When this brief and eloquent discourse is over, the first boy stretches out on the ground or on a cot, and in order to give himself courage he says in a vibrant voice, *Che rani tayicutuca*, may I be the first to be pierced, words which are greeted by the gathering with jubilation and at the same time with wonder, since they already know the pain that he is going to suffer (1).

> [195] [193] 1. The Chiriguano Indian also uses the imperative to order himself, that is to say, his verbs still have the first person of the imperative mood, which indicates considerable arrogance.

/230 cont./

304 881 [804] 304 413 881 [114] Then the one doing the operation looks among his implements for the string with which he takes the exact measurements so that the hole will be in the middle and above the chin. Then he prepares the *Guasupirasa*, which literally means; piercer of the cured skin of pygmy deer. Certain writers have believed that the *guasupirasa* is a pygmy-deer horn on the basis of the name *guasu*, with which the name of the article begins, but it is a mistake. The *guasupirasa* is a round piece of iron of the size of a *costalera* needle, which they call *Yargüi* in Quichua /Quechua/ (2).

> 2. If it were a slender deer-horn, it would be liable to break, and if it were slightly sharpened the hole would be very large and it would be difficult to hold the first *tembeta*, which should be small. There would be many other problems, which are avoided with the slender and strong iron.

304 881 As I have said, he takes the appropriate measurements with a string; he puts his hand on his *guasupirasa*, and upon seeing this the mother is frightened and weeps in silence, and the other people shrink back. Finally, utilizing the services of another practitioner, he has him press very strongly with the index fingers of both hands at the edges of the temples, at the point where the ears are attached, and when he is sure /231/ that the boy keenly feels the pain that the assistant's fingers cause in his ears he quickly and deftly inserts the well-sharpened iron, and the hole is made with considerable skill, the *Guasupirasa* passing up to the tip of the nose.

He at once puts a hollow little tube of tin on the iron and lowers it little by little in order to pull it out of the pierced lip, where instead there remains in place the little tube, which sticks out a little on both sides of the lip. In
[301] Chiriguano this tube is called *Tembetandi*, or white *tembeta*.

/231 cont./

881
304
[828] In general, with the method of pressing strongly on the patient's temples, the one performing the operation manages it so that the patient feels little or nothing of the pain of the piercing, according to what they say, and it is probable, because one sharp pain diminishes or makes another one feel less strong. But it is also certain that the boy, seeing himself before so many spectators and girls, makes every effort not to cry out or weep, because the Indians do not deny that many somewhat cowardly ones do shout and even cry a little (1).

> 1. Some boys, very fearful, when their fathers begin to talk to them about the tembeta and the need to have the hole made, run off to another tribe in the presence of their relatives, but the latter persuade them, and they return to their town.

I have asked more than one Indian and all agree in asserting that not a drop of blood comes from the hole. [785] [784] The day on which the imposition of the tembeta is done is a day of strict fasting, and they do not even let them drink a little chicha; other foods cannot be chewed by them for several days either. On some, somewhat careless ones, there is a swelling, and on others not. [757] [824] The swelling of the lip is avoided, according to them, by heating the leaves of the bush Urucuna in the flame or embers of the fire and applying them continually around the hole. 881 The cicatrization of the lip may take a month, during which time the little Chiriguano stays at home, letting himself be seen in the streets and in the plaza once in a while (2).

[759]

> 2. For a Chiriguano it is a great honor to put the tembeta in place on the boys, so that he asks nothing for this honorable operation; but the boy's parents make some small gift, which he receives with satisfaction.

/231 cont./

304 881 [824] Meanwhile the one who performed the operation now gives final admonishments to the boy, and he, following all of these instructions and those of his father, keeps the little tube in continual motion so that it will not stick to the flesh, and on the days that follow he begins to put around it little twigs /232/ from the bush called Yacurimbíu, food of the turkeys. When it has healed, he will cut a larger stick from the same bush and put it in alone, removing the tembetandi, and continue enlarging the hole this way little by little until he can put in a tembeta of hollow cane, which also goes on taking on larger dimensions until it seems big enough. Then he buys a de luxe tembeta and he puts it in, never to remove it again, either day or night, since it would be a great embarrassment for a Chiriguano to appear in public without his tembeta (1).

1. If the Chiriguano were to be without his tembeta while asleep, saliva would run out, because the hole is rather large in most of them.

301 [326] [439] [177] The hollow-cane tembetas are made by every Chiriguano, while those of wood and tin are made by craftsmen. In spite of there not being any blacksmiths or tinsmiths among them and as neither tin or lead nor anything similar is available, the result is that the material for making them is brought from other parts, being bought from the whites, with whom they have maintained relations since the beginning of Tarija, out of which region the Chiriguano were expelled.

301 171

The Tembeta in Other Tribes

The use of the tembeta may be another argument for the unity of the human race; indubitably the Chiriguano use it as a tradition passed on from father to son, and thus successively up to our times. The tembeta is found in use by savage tribes almost throughout the world; in Africa the Noers /Nuer/ and

/232 cont./

301 171 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips, respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

> 2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembeta is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapíi of Isoso are small, and those of the Choroti and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

101

> 1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano Indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

301 773 776 According to what is known through faith, clothing was given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punishment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

/233 cont./
301 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness
773 and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the
776 opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these
lines. They attribute its origin to the *Tunpa*, source of all
goodness, and to the *Aguara-Tunpa*, whom they regard as the
source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the
one who punished them was not the former, but the *Aguara-Tunpa*. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in
which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction
173 between men; all were of the same color and spoke the
same language. It has already been said in previous pages that
the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity
539 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The *Aguara-Tunpa*, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortunes and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy, I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/234 cont./

539 "Do you see those weapons in the corner there like useless objects? With them you can put an end to your misadventures if you know how to make use of them, as I shall tell you. Each of you select the ones which seem to be the best." They were arrows, bows, guns, and swords. The cleverer one looked first, and having observed that the guns were of heavy iron, as were the lances and swords, he selected the lighter ones, that is, the arrows and bows.

What was left for his companion to take? They were the only bows and arrows. Perhaps to his own regret and without having much choice, he resigned himself to what remained and took over the guns, lances, and swords. He worked all night to clean them of the rust which had spread over them, but when the sun rose everything was done and he had the satisfaction of seeing his weapons shine like new.

"With these arms," said the Aguara-Tunpa, "you will be hunters and must seek your livelihood, and with the same you will defend yourselves from danger, from predatory animals and from your enemies," and, turning to the one with bows and arrows, he added, "You will always be poorer than your companion because you had the indiscretion to decide in favor of the one of little use, because you have chosen the one of little value. The one with the guns will always be superior to you in everything, in intelligence, boldness, fortune, valor, and wealth; his food will always be better than yours, and consequently his clothing, and you will enjoy what is in his house only by serving him and helping him in his labors; from this moment on he will be superior to you, like another marvelous being; you will be taken into his house like a companion in distress and he will sometimes take pity on you because of the blessing which he has received today (1).

[186] 1. They really believe what is told up to this point in the legend, that is, that they are inferior to the whites, but as a punishment, but by destiny; true fatalists.

/234 cont./

539 "I further wish," the Aguara-Tunpa continued, "that you may never /235/ forget the day on which your bad luck made you inferior to your companion; take also this button which will distinguish you from the descendants of the one who is your superior." He made a hole in his lower lip and put the tembeta on him; and that was the beginning of the difference between the white race, or caray, and the Chiriguano, who believe that they owe their misfortune to the Aguara-Tunga (1).

1. Today few Indians believe in such a legend. They consider the fox to be a four-footed animal and the rascal that he is, and the young people listen to storytelling just because they like to hear it.

000 Here we have humanity left to its free will, without being enlightened by the true religion; they believe in a patchwork of lies and superstitions; they respect or are frightened by a wild animal, giving it the name of a marvelous being able to do good or evil to them; tremble in the presence of a dauntless fox, who is a thief without intelligence or speech, and disfigure the faces of their children, making the goodness, strength, prestige, and nobility of the individual consist of a piece of tin, wood, or hollow cane; they subject their tender and delicate damsels to rigorous fasting, to imprisonment for months and even a year, because of a false belief in sorcery, in supposed sicknesses and spells, ruining their health and even risking their lives (2).

797
779
177

2. Almost all the present-day Chiriguano have a slight smattering of the true religion; for this reason they no longer concern themselves with their old customs of fasting, hiding, putting on the tembeta, and long hair.

/236/

Chapter Ten

000

Agriculture, Animals, Food

Introduction

The Holy Bible, when it gives us the account or tells us the story of the fall of the first man, makes it clear to us that God, after having made known to him the fault committed, announced to him that he had incurred the punishment of having to seek out and provide himself with food through manual labor and the sweat of his brow.

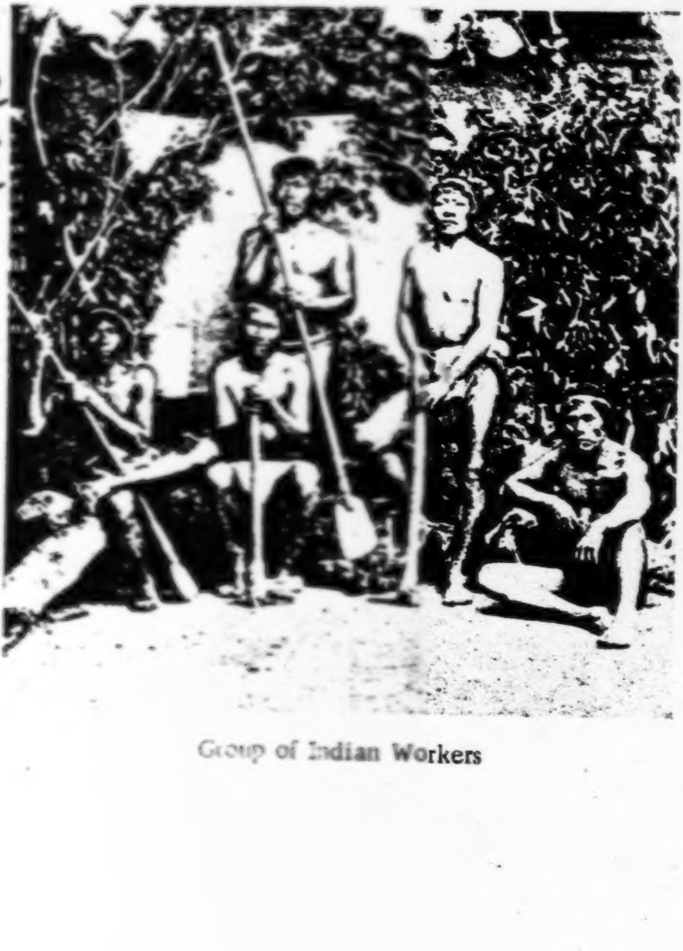
Actually the land, which up to that time had spontaneously produced in abundance everything that man could have desired, became full of weeds, brambles, and thorns when cursed by God as a consequence of Adam's sin. /The remainder of p. 236 is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 237./

/237/ Why are there so many weeds and thorns in the forests of America? Because it is little cultivated, uncultivated, because one element is missing, the laborer is missing, and God said that, without labor: Tribulos et spinas germinabit tibi. Let us leave to one side the unexplored territory and confine our consideration to the entire Chiriguano region, which is inhabited today by whites and blacks, or Indians.

The white man wishes to put in practice what, according to the story, was predicted by the Aguara-Tunpa when he made them choose the weapons. The white man wishes to be served and to ride upon his showy and spirited horse, to wear his firearm in his belt or his dagger in his boot and, like a great lord, force the Chiriguano to serve him in exchange for food or money, and thus, for agriculture, the arm of the white is
648 almost a dead one. There are whites who call themselves
464 agriculturalists or farmers because they have many Chiriguano
466 peons whom they order and direct to work in the field for their own interest and profit.

4: Nino--321 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

142
291
302
516
412



Group of Indian Workers

/237 cont./

648
464
466
It can be said with all certainty that the only laborer in the four provinces of Azero, Cordillera, O'Connor, and Gran Chaco is the Chiriguano, who is found even beyond Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he also works, taken there by the authorities or by the owners of the lands, which they bought in ancient times for a trifle (1).

[425]
1. If one is to credit what the Indians say, in some places land was acquired by barefaced trickery /leva raida/ at the time of Ferdinand VII; in other places, for three or four arrobas of cheese, and in the last ones, for a cow, a poncho, a few varas of cloth, or a few bottles of liquor given to the cacique.

178
[167]
Today the Chiriguano, very abject, in many places suffers in resignation what, according to the story, he did not want yesterday; in other places he is migrating the better part of the time, that is to say, when his presence is necessary for the general planting, to which of necessity the old people must devote themselves if they want to live without dying of hunger and in order to be able to welcome the migrants when they return for a few days to show off their new clothing, their work from other regions, to sell it immediately for very little, to slaughter some cattle of their own or of their elders, and to go back at once without even saying good-by.

Property Rights

648
[241]
The object of the present chapter is to describe the method of cultivating the land when the Indians lived alone in the country, before the whites had moved in among them: now they scarcely give them /238/ room to do their planting as best they can. Nonetheless, since they keep them continually occupied, food and clothing are never lacking to anybody in a Christian's house, where the Indian gets them
177
648

/238 cont./

177 648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

> 1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241 773 776 It was also the *Aguara-Tunpa* who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

> 2. The *Aguara-Tunpa*, Fox God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners *ab immemorabili*, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

/238 cont./

423 To acquire possession of a small plot of land, the
311 Chiriguano selects beforehand the part that he likes best in
the region, which he judges to be wet enough because it is on
the slopes of ridges or hills or because water collects there
in the rainy season. Naturally, the site which he intends to
cultivate must have no signs of previous cultivation, because
if there were any the owner or his descendants, even though
at some distance, would immediately place a claim before
the competent authority, the cacique.

423 If the plot has not been tilled, he can be sure of not being
[241] disturbed, and before the rainy season ends he plants on it
anything /239/ which will be visible, such as the *Güindaca-*
guasu, a large gourd which spreads a great deal, invades
everything, and is not easily strangled by weeds. Another
way to acquire property is to break all the bushes around the
site, or, finally, to make cuts with his ax on the largest trees.

No one can lay claim to a place that belongs to the com-
munity of the Indians, where anyone has worked, and the one
241 who made the prior signs is regarded as the owner. The rainy
season passes, the cold comes and dries up the grass and the
leaves of the trees; before August ends, the Indian sets fire
to the whole new plot, which consumes the grass and the
brambles and makes useless the larger trees. All the ashes
[461] that are left are fertilizer for the land, and the fire has
destroyed all the seeds of the weeds and brush, so that the first
planting which is done on the new plot is almost free of weeds,
which saves labor for the lazy Chiriguano (1).

1. The old Indians still do some work in order not to have many weeds in their fields, but the modern ones are little concerned about it now in many areas. Moreover, the cattle do not leave any time, invading everything and eating up the pasturage in a short time. It is very sensible to prohibit the burning of the fields after the harvest.

/239 cont./

Old Method of Farming

241 In planting the fields which are already old, they use the same method of applying fire to the weeds and stubble that are left after the harvest; this method is even coming to be practiced by the whites and the mestizos. As far as fertilizing the land, the Chiriguano does not worry about it, because the lands are virgin and the Indian hardly plants maize on a large scale, and, if it rains regularly until the grain has become hard, the crop is abundant and the farmer has enough to eat and an abundance of chicha to drink, which is what he wants.

412 Formerly the ava had nothing but a wooden shovel and a stone ax, which is hard to find today. He obtained his livelihood with these insignificant tools; the ax served him for cutting trees and bushes and the spade for pulling up all the grass and brush. [324] [239] The spade was like those used by bakers for putting bread in the oven; it was of soto wood and was attached to a rather long handle with bejuco vines or strips of toborochi bark; the handle was always long, because the Indian /240/ neither knew nor does he now know how to bend his back at his farm chores; these spades were also made from the shoulder blade of cattle, horses, or asses (1).

000

1. Baron don Erland Nordenskiold, in addition to the pots from various regions of Bolivia, sent to the Swedish museum pots made by the Chiriguano, wooden spades, and stone axes.

241 [illegible] Planting was usually done in the month of November, after the ground had received at least two rains. Then the Indian would first destroy with his spade the small amount of grass that had come up, and then he would notify his friends and relatives so that they might help him to plant on the day indicated. [476] [534] The cacique took part in the general planting, ordering that those under him should help one another; thus, early on the said day, at daybreak, they would

/340 cont./

241 [476] [534] go to the plot, waking each other up with shouts, whistles, and by means of the Huacananti, cow's horn.

The method of planting is very simple. When the land is soft, the planter makes a small hole with his spade, using two or three blows, then pushes the spade forward, throws in two or three grains of seed and covers them. Then, without moving he makes another hole to the right, horizontal to the first, and a third to the left, performing the same operation as in the first, after which he takes a step and continues as before until he finishes. With many working, the planting of a plot is soon finished.

241 461 512 The Indian does not work beyond midday, and he tries to finish the job before leaving it in order not to return; therefore that the work sometimes lasts until two in the afternoon. Then the owner and his companions stop, return to the town, where they are awaited with plenty of food and chicha, which the former has ordered prepared, if the previous harvests were abundant (2).

[293] [262] 2. In any case, if there were a lack of chicha, because of previous scarcity, and mead made from algarrobas, the housewife should still wait for the planters with food mixed with some meat and plenty of chili peppers.

241 476 They formerly continued in this fashion until the planting of a tribe was completed; one day on one's own plot and another on that of a companion, and even the cacique did the same; today this is difficult to manage, because now they are not so close. Nevertheless, in times of scarcity, if someone prepares chicha for those who may wish to help him in planting or weeding, they leave or refuse money for a few matés or /341/ glasses of this much desired liquor. Even the whites get peons more easily this way.

/241 cont./

Modern Farming and Seeds

241 Today planting with the spade is disappearing, and if
177 this tool is necessary for weeding, an iron one has been sub-
[407] stituted. The plow has become general, as have the yoke
and oxen, and in the missions even boys of 12 break in oxen
two and a half years old. They first do the planting for the
mission, then for themselves and their fathers, and finally
they help those who have no sons; the missionary provides them
with young oxen, plowshares, and even halters when they
are very poor.

The neophytes in most of the Potosí missions have learned
to perfection this new method of farming, and they are so
advanced that they are competitive with and even superior to
[868] many mestizo farmers. The older ones teach the younger
[407] ones, fathers teach their sons, and the latter as well as the
former manufacture plow and yoke out of selected wood with
[231] all the perfection that these implements require. It is satis-
fying to see upon a farm 40 or 50 yokes of oxen, directed
and driven by young men and boys who yesterday were like
46 their grandparents! The whites themselves do their planting
on a large scale, aided by these Chiriguano, who receive in
exchange double daily wages (1).

1. A peon plowman is not obliged to bring oxen; it is the white who waits for him with the yoke hitched. If a peon brings his own, he earns up to triple daily wages, because they are worth exactly three strong peons, the two oxen and the man who drives them. Thus it is not much to pay him triple.

243
262 Today it seems to me that there must not be another country where the different types of maize thrive better. This is the principal element, the daily food, not only of the Chiriguano tribe, but of all those who inhabit most of Bolivia. Here in particular, when there is no harvest, its lack is greatly felt by whites and blacks, that is to say, by mestizos and by Chiriguano.

/241 cont./

There are 11 varieties of maize planted by the Indians and their neighbors of the white race, the mestizos of Tarija and Santa Cruz. The maize used most for Chiriguano food is called Abati hendi vaé, or abati iyu vaé, shining or yellow maize; the kernel of this variety is actually a glowing yellow in color and /242/ from it they make parched meal and meal for the manufacture of chicha. The second variety which is used quite a lot is the Abatindi, or white maize; this is used for parched maize and also for parched meal; likewise used for this is the Abati canana, whose kernels are similar in color and form to the teeth or seeds of the pomegranate. Next the Abati hesanca vaé, or light maize, is quite highly esteemed (1).

1. The Abati hesanca vaé is known by the Tarija farmers under the name of pisangalla maize; others call it pearly or sugar maize, because it is the color of pearls and is sweeter than that of the other types.

[273] The Indians even plant the Abatiúú, or black maize, but it is not greatly esteemed, and when they make chicha from this maize its color is that of chocolate in milk. If the previous harvest was scarce or almost nil, the Indians at the first rains and others in damp places, which through antonommasia they call Mocuinti, plant the Abatirai, small maize. The plant does not rise more than one meter above the ground, its ear is one jeme /measure from thumb tip to forefinger tip when extended more or less, and its fruit ripens very quickly. They plant little of this in order not to lose the seed. Almost the same as this is the one they call Muruchu, shiny small one. It is the same color as the first variety, but it is not abundant; its ear has eight short rows.

/242 cont./

The seventh type has no peculiarity. It is called Cachinchi, which in the language means curly, and it actually is; the kernel is rather small at the end, but not at the beginning, and in the middle it is very soft; it contains considerable saccharine, and they use it for parched maize. They also have the Abati guayeta, then the Abati chore, which they use for parched meal, and finally they have the Saimpini, gray, very good for parched maize because of its softness (2).

[177] 2. It appears that formerly these Indians did not have the Abati guayeta. It is very probable that it was introduced after the Conquest, or as soon as they had any relations with the whites.

262 Maize is a very common food for the Chiriguano Indian, and he eats it in different ways, but in times of plenty one tires of eating the same thing, like the Hebrews, who in the desert had become tired of eating manna. They remedy this difficulty with the Intina, side dishes /companage.

The first, Abati tina, is the Cumanda, French bean /alubia/; there are also 11 types of French beans, or [263] cumanda. All are eaten with salt or without /243/ it, with maize meal, with parched maize, or without them. Here they are; Cumanda háigũe, bean with a yellow kernel; Cumanda sacuayu, which literally means bean with yellow eye; Cumanda ǘǘ, black bean; Cumanda gũiraya, which literally means bean owner of the trees, because it is a climber; Cumandandi, white bean; Cumanda pucu, long bean with red kernel; Cumanda mi, small bean. This one is not small because of its grain, but because of the plant, and it is the one that the whites call yellow poroto; Cumandansi, sour bean; Cumanda guasu, large bean, it is because the plant is very thick. There is another called Gũira rupía because it resembles birds' eggs, and, finally, there is Saimpino, which is similar to the gray egg-colored maize (1).

244 1. The Cumanda guasu, or large bean, is the

/243 cont./

244 one preferred by the Chiriguano, and he has good reason, as it is quite edible, the least damaging to health, in addition to being the seed which is most resistant to drought. It is very abundant, and as many as four harvests can be taken from it.

262 252 [244] The Chiriguano plants whatever type of beans /judías/ he has or can obtain from his neighbors or companions when he runs short, because only in the case of maize, which he prefers to eat parched and not boiled, does he plant several varieties. All beans /alubia/ are good to the Indian because of the use that he makes of them, which is to boil them and eat them, to roast them under hot ashes with their pods, or, by making a hole in the ground, to heat it and burying the pods there so that they will cook.

244 If the Chiriguano frequently lacks beans to mix with the maize, it is unlikely that he will be without gourds, which grow with little cultivation and which are so resistant to drought; it is also extremely easy for him to plant this food, so much so that women and children devote themselves to it, because not many plants are needed in a plot for an abundant harvest.

244 262 [415] Twelve classes of gourds are known, but only five are edible; the other seven are used for matés. The edible ones are the following; Andai, Güindaca guasu, Güindaca mi, Güindaca mi guasu, yiquisigua; the latter has an edible interior and the exterior is useful for domestic purposes, to keep 249 any object in its hard shell. The gourds that serve for matés are Iá, true maté; Iá pua, round maté; Iámpe, flattened maté; /244/ Iá guasu, large maté; Iá-rai, small maté, Iá pucú, long maté, and Iá pani, twisted maté (1).

---

(1) The Indian does not include in the number of gourds the one the two children used to free themselves from the deluge of water because it was a miraculous one.

/244 cont./

252 Gourds are eaten boiled, roasted, and in broth; the
262 seed is enjoyed when roasted with maize meal, parched maize, or beans. They also eat them as broth, which they call Gũindaca mi quira, or grease of the gourd, to which they add chili pepper and salt, just as they do with beans cooked in ollas with the whole pod, which they call Sopirigua.

241 If the Chiriguano manages to plant a little maize beans /poroto/, and gourds, he is content and stops planting other, less important seeds. Few plant Yeti, sweet potato, Mandiporopi, mandioca, Tacuaneé, sugar cane, and Monduvi, peanut. They all plant watermelons and other melons; many plant figs and tunas, or nopal, and few cultivate orange trees, because this Indian has little patience for waiting on the ingratitude of certain plants which require much care and are very slow in yielding fruit (2).

[192]
[177] 2. Names for watermelon /sandía/ and melon /melón/ do not exist in the Chiriguano language, which indicates that these fruits were introduced by the whites, from whom the Indians got them.

222 The nopal is very abundant in this area, rising to some
245 three or four meters; its fruit is very exquisite, as everyone
262 knows. Its cultivation is nil; it is enough to pluck off a branch of the main plant and bury it halfway, and its sweet fruit will ripen from the second year on. It is the plant that the Chiriguano value most.

245 Even the fig tree, which also needs little care, is cultivated. They call it Iva, as well as calling the nopal Saini, and both plants seem to be native, because they grow in hot places, and the name indicates that they have always had them. The fig tree requires more cultivation than the nopal, but this is relatively insignificant; they pull off a branch, plant it during the rainy season, and let it grow fully without pulling off any shoots (3).

439

3. Whites who live among the Indians are

/244 cont./

439 occupied in other, more lucrative trades; they rarely plant fig trees and nopal, and this benefits the Chiriguano, who sells both fruits, receiving money, meat, or charqui from the white man.

241 When any of this planting is done, all the desire of the Chiriguano is that it yield; he fervently beseeches the favor of heaven, /245/ or the sorcerers, masters or the rain, that there may not be a lack of the necessary moisture, and he, with his own hands, sees to it that the planting is quite free of all weeds.

262

Use of the Ripe Produce

252 If the weather is favorable and the Indian has taken care of the planting, the reward of his little bit of sweat will not make him wait long. In exactly three months, or even before, he can already begin to savor Abatíqui, tender maize, which the mestizos call choclo. The first of these ears are eaten roasted and almost never boiled, because they say that prepared in the latter fashion they are tasteless. They go on to say that roasted choclo must be cooked only a little in order not to lose its ability to fatten, and if it is roasted under ashes with the whole husk, it is almost as sweet as sugar. How well, dear reader, do my Indians know what is good for the body, and how they know the way to get fat and what is most pleasing to the palate! They are good gourmets despite their poverty! It seems that they belong to the abdominals described by Father Saj.

When the choclo is somewhat more mature, they eat it with more pleasure, and then they also very nicely prepare Simbícuai, humitas/small cakes made of tender maize and sugar/. The method is very simple: instead of a knife or spoon to pull off the kernels, the young Chiriguano girl or old woman, pretty or ugly, with good teeth or bad ones, uses these instead of a mortar and pestle to grind it; it is done with the teeth very

/245 cont./

252 262 clean, and, of course, in view of the chewing the choclo turns out well seasoned with the clean, white saliva of the old or young women. Then they wrap up the chewed matter in green husks, tie it up, put it under the ashes, and, when it is cooked, they eat it as if it were a very delicate victual, and let it be noted that if the Chiriguano humita were not made thus, it would turn out tasteless for lack of sauce and salt, which things they make up for by means of the above-mentioned procedure (1).

1. The whites here and elsewhere make humitas, grinding up choclo in a mortar and mixing in cheese, curds, meat, and other ingredients; but the Indian follows his old way without adding anything other than saliva to it.

The season of fresh maize lasts some three months, because the Chiriguano, accustomed to heavy food, eats it as fresh even when it is very ripe. When the choclo season ends, the woman gathers a few ears of abatindi or /246/ saimpino, husks them, sits down near the fire, where she has put her potsherd or clay vessel, and she tosses the maize there to parch, stirring it with a little stick or with the cob of the maize itself, being careful not to overcook it, so that it may not lose its substance. They eat very little boiled maize, Atiruro, and even the parched corn, Atipíi, must be accompanied by its Intina, side dish, which should be something unusual (1).

1. For their side dishes they make use of beans, gourds, meat, fish, empanizado, large Isaú ants, cicadas, lizards, worms, melted tallow, honey, gourd leaves, wild herbs such as the Mandiõ, and locusts, whose appearance sometimes makes him happy because now he has it for his roasted maize.

/246 cont./

252
262 It is not likely that in times of abundance the Indian will resign himself to always eating maize in the same fashion, both because he becomes tired of it and because there are also old people who are toothless and cannot eat parched maize very well. To avoid both things, the Chiriguano mind has found various ways to prepare maize dishes, in addition to those already noted. He savors with satisfaction Aticúi, meal; to make it, the Indian woman, after having been huddled for a long time near the fire, takes her pestle, tosses a quantity of parched maize into the mortar and grinds; then she sifts the ground maize in a fine palm sieve and grinds it all up again, so that the aticúi, which the whites call pito, may be palatable enough.

As easily as she prepares aticúi, she also makes Muinti, which is the seventh way of eating maize. For this she puts a small number of kernels in water and lets them soak overnight; in the morning she takes them out and puts them in a sieve so that all the water may run off. She then proceeds to grind them little by little and once finished, sifts it and parches it as she did the meal. From the remains from grinding the muinti, called Abaticure, named arrocillo by the whites, she prepares Achi. To make it, she grinds the arrocillo again, puts salt and chili pepper in the meal, and parches it.

The ninth way of using maize is a little more complicated. It is frequent, but not usual. It is called Muintimimo. To make it, kernels are steeped and ground early in the morning and then sifted in a fine sieve; next one prepares a plate which has small holes for the purpose, and the ground meal, which is covered with bran, is put on it; finally, the plate is put on an olla of boiling water, its edges sealed with /247/ a paste of ashes so that the steam may not escape, and then it is left to cook by steaming (1).

1. To see if it is ready, she taps on the bran with her fingers, and, if it sounds like cooked bread, it is a sign that it is time to remove it from the olla, throw away the bran, eat what is wanted, and save the rest.

/247 cont./

252 Infrequently the Indian drinks a broth of ground maize,
262 Hapi; when he does not have meat, he uses beans and gourds for his broth. If he does not have these either, he prefers Cagüíi rai, which he prepares by soaking and grinding the maize, removing the bran, and cooking it. They also chew it sometimes, let it ferment, and eat it when it is ready; anyone who sees this last food could not help but be disgusted, but for them it is a very excellent dish.

[263] The twelfth and last way of eating maize is Muyape, bread. The preparation is the same as that of the Hebrews when they eat unleavened bread, but the Chiriguano put salt and chili pepper in it; after it is kneaded, they cover it with ashes and fire and let it cook well; when it is done, they take it out, wash it with water until the ashes which have stuck to it are gone, and, well washed, it has the color of bread, which invites both big and small to savor it; it is what the Indian likes best, and the women make it frequently in times of plenty. Its odor and taste are very pleasant, especially when just made.

273

Cangüi — Chicha

All the ability of a wife consists of knowing how to make chicha well, the delicious cangüi of the Chiriguano, who is capable of walking a hundred kilometers or more to drink it, when invited with all the rules of native diplomacy. Cangüi is his coffee, his soup, his wine, his food, his drink, his everything. In a certain way it is his God, and I am sure that many would renounce heaven for chicha, because they know almost nothing of what heaven is, and, on the other hand, they know that chicha is a sweet thing which gladdens the heart and leads to conversation and singing; therefore, every Chiriguano woman must take special care from even before puberty to learn well the method of preparing it. Here it is (2).

[177]

2. The method of making the chicha which the whites call arrope is somewhat different, but the Chiriguano Indians do not use it and learned of it only recently.

/248/

273 She prepares and grinds an amount of maize corresponding to the number of vessels she wishes to fill and then sifts it in a special sieve which has large holes, Unupesa; from this first job there is always left a kind of sifting, or arrocillo, that they call Abaticure, which, after being soaked and sifted, is again ground, after which they roast it a little on potsherds, chew it, and keep it in a vessel for a period of four to six hours. This is called Timisúú, chewed thing.

Meanwhile water has been collected, and the pot has been put on the fire and is near the boiling point; before it boils, the lighted firewood is taken away to stop its action; she throws into the pot the dry meal which she ground first and mixes it with the hot water, keeping it from becoming lumpy. Then she removes a small quantity of this mixture and puts it in a small vessel, into which she puts all the Timisúú, which mixture they call Umopirai. Having done all this, she stirs continually with a maté, bringing the liquid up to a certain height and letting it fall back into the vessel so that it will acquire the necessary sweetness. When the mixture has become quite sweet, she pours it all into the ollas which are on the fire, brings them to a boil, stirring it all continually for a period of 24 hours (1).

At the end of 24 hours, it is fully cooked; she removes the fire and takes out the thick liquid, putting it in other pots with a wide mouth. The women, both big and small, then sit down and begin to chew until the end (this operation may last some two hours). Then different ones pour water into it, strain all the ingredient in a very fine sieve, Cangüi mbogua, and, once finished, bottle the clarified liquid in other pots with narrow mouths. The lid for these vessels is a small jar or a gourd, and, to seal it hermetically, they plaster it with a

---

[412] 1. If the liquid were not made to fall from a certain height into the vessel, it would not be sweet at all. The spatula with which she stirs the liquid day and night is called Mbaepivaraca.

/248 cont./

273 mortar of clay, and thus the fermentation works without interference and in a few days. When the fermentation is over, they carefully remove the clay and the lid, and the Cangü̃i appears, covered with a good dose of oil, a sure sign that the chicha has been made perfectly (2).

> 2. When the weather is hot, the fermentation of the chicha works in three days, but in cold weather six or seven are needed.

Before beginning to drink it, the housewife collects and removes the oil /illustration appears here/ /249/ and fills the cups for the drinkers; she pours a few drops of this oil into each one. If this precaution were not taken, all of the oil would pour into a single cup, and the woman who had made the chicha would be deprived of the praises of all the hangers-on. When the Chiriguano woman wants the chicha to be better, when she wants Copiriru, or or recooked chicha, after she has strained it, as has been said, she brings it to a boil again and, when it is cold, bottles it.

[302] Note that Chiriguano women who are getting ready to prepare chicha first anoint their faces and calves with palma Christi oil and over this put achiote paint and then begin the job. They say that with this cosmetic, they feel the heat of the fire less, but, be that as it may, it is certain that to see those women so painted in a house with a big fire and lots of smoke is the same as seeing the furies of hell; the resemblance is not remote.

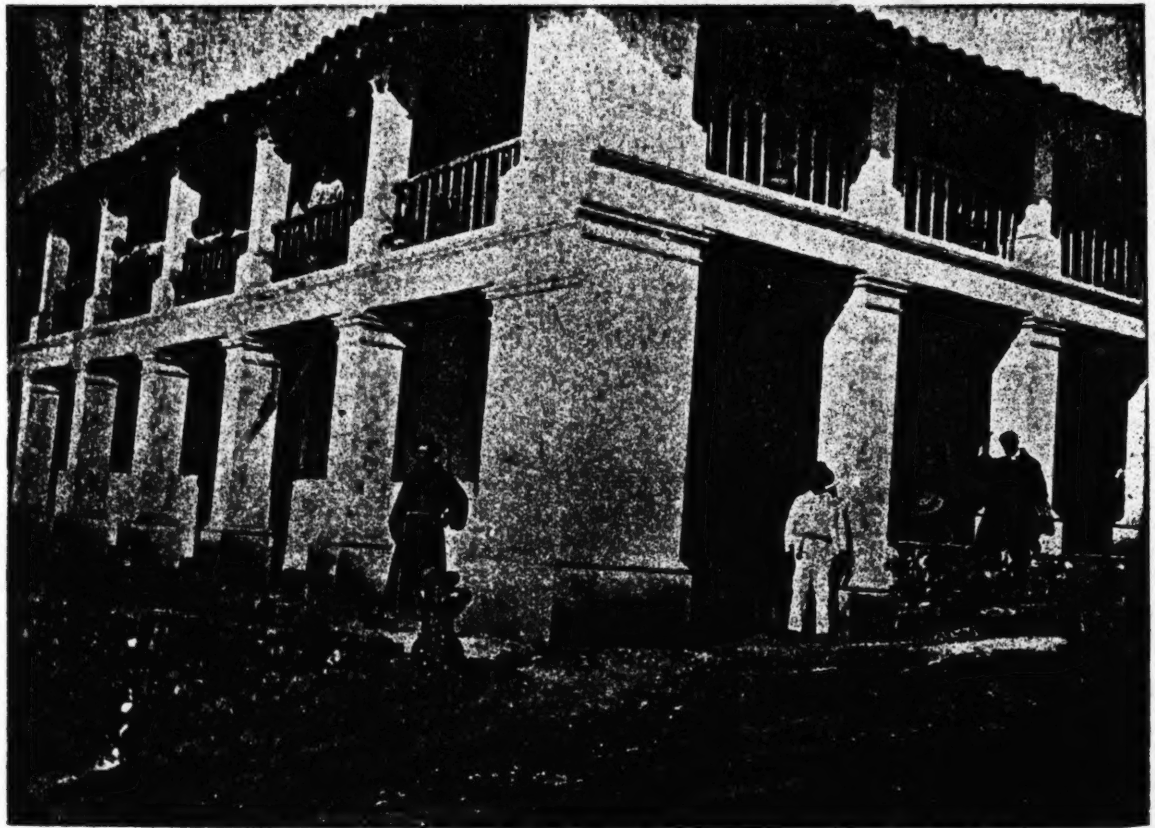
In another chapter it will be seen that a lot of chicha is made for the fiestas celebrated after the harvest, but it should be noted here that food is prepared for this general drinking and the grand hotel is open to all in the plaza, where townsmen and outsiders, men and women, gather into separate groups, because the European civilization of the mixed schools, mixed dances, mixed parties, mixed baths, etc., etc., which are true sewers of prostitution, has not arrived here (1).

[527]
[576]

> 1. In fact, at the public gatherings the men drink at a decent distance away from the women; their conversations are crude, but do not exceed the limits, because the woman is in the company of her husband.

4: Nino--338 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

7997



Girls' School

/249 cont./

Hunters

224 So that there may be plenty of food at the public drinking, the men, as soon as they have finished the job of bringing in firewood, take their bows and arrows, and horses if they have any, and go hunting. The places are suitable for the purpose: some hunt Taitetu, wild boars; others pursue the Yandu, ostrich; many go in search of Picasuguasu, large pigeons, Yeruti, turtledoves, Picúi, little doves. They also hunt: Guasu, /250/ pygmy deer; Sariama, chuñas /cranes/; Ayuru, parrots; and Tatu, quiriquinchos /armadillos/ (1).

[262] 1. The armadillos are of several types: the meat of the Taturapúa, balled armadillo, is not good, because it feeds on carcasses; the meat of the rest is better than that of the pig /chancho/; it is not harmful like that of the latter.

[251] The hunters take some 15 or 20 days to return, but as they take game, they cut it open, clean it, and dry it in the sun, so that it will not spoil, because they do not carry salt, since they do not have it, for making jerky or charqui.

224
231 Almost all the Chiriguano are hunters, and the infinite number of dogs that they keep in their houses have the ability to pursue the wild boar, the quiriquincho /armadillo/, the ostrich, the chuña /crane/, or the pygmy deer. These dogs are almost like Old World wolves, with pointed ears and a curled tail; they are so skinny they look like harps, so bad with mestizos and whites that it seems that they have learned to hate them as their owners do, and they are so attached to the latter that they never leave their side. They go with them everywhere; it is not unusual to see an Indian who is going to the field followed or preceded by eight or ten dogs, who are falling down from being so thin, and yet, should they flush a pygmy deer or a chuña, they will not let it get away. To walk alone at night through a Chiriguano town is to expose oneself to being eaten alive by these hungry tigers who all gather when the first one barks.

/250 cont./

224 184 Although all the Indians are hunters, not all can or go to hunt; some stay in town to help the women put the jars /*cántaros*/ in the plaza, and others do not go because they have other food [231] [574] available for their friends. Some of them have goats and sheep, others even chickens and cows; these take pride in being able to offer their friends in the public plaza chicken soup, or one of lamb or kid, or a succulent roast of veal, since there is no doubt that anyone would prefer fresh meat to charqui or dried meat of wild animals.

Animals

231 From the little that has been said with reference to animals it can be deduced that the Chiriguano have some, and they are the horse, ass, mule, cow, sheep, goat, chicken, and dog; all of them have Spanish names, /251/ except the chicken, *Uru*, and the dog, *Yáimba*. It is possible that these last are native, that is, that the Chiriguano have always had them, since they have their own name in the language; but if one reflects a little some doubt rises in the mind. The chicken, so it seems to me, is called *Uru* by the Chiriguano because it has some resemblance to the turkey buzzard, which they call *Urugüi* and which is a species of crow. [177] The dog is called *Yáimba* in Chiriguano, no doubt because he is very faithful to his master, *Ya*, which really means owner-master, and *Imba*, beast, so that the dog turns out to be a special beast which, more than others, loves its owner or master, and I say this because other tribes who are neighbors of the Chiriguano and are in a complete state of savagery do not have the dog, from which it can be deduced that they acquired it when the Spaniards entered their country (1).

---

1. For my opinion to be complete and closer to the truth, the word *Imba* should have an *h*; nevertheless, I do not give this as more than an opinion. The literal meaning of the word *Yáimba* would be: beast of the owner.

/251 cont./

Other Comestibles

226 184 After this digression I return with an account of comestibles in order to end the chapter now. The Indian finds in everything goodness and sweetness for his molars. He is very eager for fish, [437] but not all the tribes have it nearby: when they learn that there is fish in abundance on the banks of the big rivers, they travel as far as 150 kilometers to barter: they take maize or meal and trade it for fish. Those who live on the river banks are valiant fishermen, with no distinction by sex: they fish with hooks, staying in the water for hours, but they know with great sensitivity when the fish has taken the bait into its stomach; others fish with nets, which they have in every size, as I have seen on the Parapiti River, as well as on the Pilcomayo, near the Pirapo toward the west (2).

[438] [435] [431] 2. The Indians who bring fish back to their tribes do business, selling them at 10 and 20 centavos each; they also eat them and present them to friends and relatives.

226 Others make large baskets of hollow cane, open at a single point, put them in the river, and the fish go in without being able to get out; these baskets are called Pari. Along the rivers I even saw two lines of rocks sticking out of the water and ending /252/ in an angle, where the water forms a small waterfall. There, at the angle, they put a big net or other apparatus and catch many fish. They call this apparatus Itapare; even the carcancho /a bird/ will place itself at the angle and have a breakfast of fresh fish.

Finally, at waterfalls eight or ten meters high, they place close by a big net which gets all the smaller or medium-sized fish, since the big ones go up and down easily, while the former fall into the net; in the places where the fish are small, they divert the course of the stream and thus manage to catch all those which are left without their element.

/252 cont./

262 As very savory food there are also cicadas, ants, lizards, locusts, and some green worms which cause disgust just to name them. If a head of cattle dies and putrefaction has begun, the Chiriguano finds it excellent; give it to him and it is a grand gift, and that day is a carnival for him; he does not try to find out whether the animal died from the poison of a viper or rattlesnake or from rabies (1).

262
252
1. When Indians bring home the meat of dead cattle well into a state of putrefaction, they boil it in ollas and throw away the liquid, and in this way it loses much of its bad smell.

262
178 I do not know whether it is through superstition or because they are descendants of the Jews that this tribe formerly did not eat the flesh of the pig; although they like and hunt the wild boar or the peccary, they did not touch the domestic pig, but today almost all of them, with the exception of some women, eat it.

261
262
[252]
[164] The Chiriguano suffers in times of hunger or scarcity of food, but he looks for food in the earth; this is very harmful food, which produces various ailments, such as consumption and dysentery. He looks for the potato of the serpentine arum, extracts it, and, making a hole, heats it, throws the potatoes there, and covers it with ashes and embers, leaving them overnight; on the following day he and his family eat, but it gives them a bad stomach-ache, which makes them throw themselves down with their bellies to the ground until the pain abates; the same potato, raw, is efficaceous for killing worms in the galls of animals.

[222]
[252] Another food in times of scarcity is the Caraguata; this is a kind of aloe with leaves without the oily liquid; the edible part is the roots, which have a flavor like mandioca; it is considerable work to pull them out of the ground, where they are firmly attached, and the mealy substance is /253/ little enough; to eat it, it is roasted in the coals or under the ashes. When it is the time for fruits and want threatens, the Chiriguano

/253 cont./

261 feed themselves with: algarroba pods, Hibope; chañar /a legume/,
262 Cumbaru; mistol /a fruit/, Yua; tusca, Hibopene; sour algarrobos, Hibope tayi; nopal fruits, Saini; or from the fig, Iva; the higuerilla /little fig/, Caicantina, the thistle /cardo/, Tapiacaru, and the ulala /a kind of cactus/, Ñancagüina (1).

[137]
[132]
1. The fruits mentioned and many others are plentiful in the whole area, but in the Ivu region they are more plentiful; the years have now greatly changed; it does not rain as regularly as in times past and the crops are somewhat certain only at the foot of the mountain ranges.

181 Indubitably the Chiriguano, although superior to other nomadic tribes that surround them or border them, are very unfortunate and poor, but, on the other hand, their life is peaceful, they bother no one, and they do not wish to be bothered. When the Chiriguano Indian has food, he is the happiest being on earth; his savage bliss can today be envied by all the rulers and great of the world who live without knowing whether or not they will wake up on the morrow, in view of being surrounded by so many anarchistic dangers, so many bombs and dynamite that the obscure sects make explode, so many excesses that occur and are reported in the newspapers, and so many deaths that are taking place. Oh, this kind of savagery has not penetrated among these savages! That is why they sleep peacefully without fear, in the town, in the countryside, and in the forest, and they are happier than others; those who seek bliss on this earth may well envy these Indians.

/254/

Chapter Eleven

Fiestas: Songs. Carnival

Introduction

500 /The remainder of p. 254 and the first paragraph on p. 255 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 255. The remainder of p. 255 follows./

What were the occupations of men in Rome and other cities before embracing Christianity? What are the occupations of peoples in countries where anarchism is reigning as a consequence of the laic school? The history of ancient peoples tells us, and the modern as well. What did the Roman Empire do, when after so hard a struggle to broaden its dominions, it reached its apogee? It spent its time in fiestas which were true orgies, hair-raising days during which human blood ran like water. What is done in the kingdoms of the Old and New Worlds where the Christian is a modernist? They spend their time in theaters, where their souls are prostituted; they drink in inns and wineshops until they descend lower than the category of an irrational animal; they spend their time in the bull ring, taking pleasure in the struggle of three ferocious animals (1).

> 1. In modern instruction, they have suppressed the idea of God, which is acquired by means of the catechism or similar work; from this suppression comes anarchism, which does not respect legitimately constituted authority. In certain games three beasts are observed: the bull with his brute strength, the bullfighter with his skill, and the spectator with his bestiality.

If civilization is thus to be understood, it is better that the savages not know it or hear about European or American civilization, with the latter taking the lead; it is better that they have their fiestas according to their customs, for, when all things are considered, it is necessary to choose the lesser of two evils; I maintain that the *fiestas* of the savages, for example, of the Chiriguano, are less scandalous than those of certain regions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P 346]

Patio of a Girls' School

/255 cont./

000 those of certain peoples who, without going further, are close to those who know nothing about civilization, whose morals, compared with those of these unfortunates, are far lower because of their refinement (2).

2. Some moderns would have civilization consist of purely material education without attending to the yearnings of the heart; for them it is all the same whether man dresses or goes naked.

527 In the course of this chapter my readers will learn that I can be little mistaken in what I stated above, and they will also learn that even the Chiriguano have fiestas, which they call Arete, which /256/ are celebrated neither for saints, emperors, nor kings, nor are they celebrated in a disorderly fashion, nor do they allow themselves to be disemboweled by a bull, as sometimes happens to mestizos or Spaniards; much less are they celebrated for open abandonment to luxury; they are celebrated only in order to drink and stuff oneself, and to enjoy the fruit of the labor involved in the planting of the maize, to have a few days of general rejoicing, to drink, in sum, like good brothers (1).

[526] 1. In the general drinking a certain immorality in their words is to be lamented, and they sometimes test their strength and valor with pugilism.

Before the Fiesta

241
231
177 Before the white race entered the region, cattle were almost unknown and the few that the Indians had were tame, nor had they taken to their hearts the desire for maize as they do now; thus the Chiriguano easily did his planting and weeding in less than a month, leaving the rest to God, but I speak badly, to the good sorcerer, the sun, and the rain. Today if he does not put a fence around his planting, the cattle of the Christians and the Indians very soon reach the crop, and a little carelessness is

/256 cont./

241 231 177 enough for this. Although there are good fences, there are better and braver bulls or calves, who with their horns are capable of opening iron gates, opening the way to all their females, whom they then call with much affection with their prolonged bellows (2).

2. The harmful cattle even become ferocious; if a man alone tries to chase them out of the field without the help of good dogs, he will be charged.

241 221 The harvest marks for the Chiriguano the time of the year that he calls Mbaepiro, which literally means a dry thing or things, and everyone will understand that this corresponds to autumn, in which season the trees and every bush take off their beauty and raiment. [343] Men and women then are busy carrying in what the land has produced for them; the maize crop is kept in the plot itself, in a kind of house of sticks called Abatío, maize house, and the woman little by little, as needed, brings it to the town for the daily meal and for the preparation of chicha (3).

3. If the harvest of gourds is not abundant, they put them on the maize in the same shed, if they do not build another; the bean crop is brought immediately to the tribe or town.

527 /257/ After this the Chiriguano spends his time in idleness, drinking here today, there tomorrow, visiting with some, playing with others, enjoying, in sum, with almost no work, a better life than the greatest ruler in the world. [221] The harvest is cut between May and June, and after it the libations in honor of the belly god begin. As the desire to drink is extraordinary, before having the general libation, the families, one by one, begin to make a small quantity of chicha to be drunk among a few friends and relatives.

/257 cont./

527
622 It falls to the cacique to give the order for the general drinking, and this is not long in coming. Twenty or thirty days before it takes place, he puts a large vessel in front of his house; this is the signal. Then in the evening, or when he judges best, he addresses a long discourse to his subjects, exhorting them to prepare what is necessary for the Arete; he stresses in this discourse that maize is a thing for drinking, once it has been obtained through the kindness of the sorcerer, lord of the rains. He adds that it is very proper not to lose the ancient custom of drinking and having a great feast to show friendship and courtesy to neighbors who live in other tribes. He underlines in his discourse the need to prepare good chicha and plenty of it and to prepare much wild game, so that those who are to participate as guests can enjoy these things and other, domestic foods to their full satisfaction, and that this may be a great honor for the townspeople.

I do not believe that anyone doubts the completely satisfactory effect that the cacique's discourse has on the mind of the Chiriguano, who wants nothing more than to drink, sing, and dance; thus, after the said speech, great joy appears on all faces, and all sigh in expectation of the arrival of the happy day when they can gather as good friends (1).

622
461 1. The caciques are very happy in their speeches for fiestas, but when it comes to work, they are not so much so. Humanity is not naturally inclined toward work. When a crop was very abundant, it was unlikely that they would plant the next year, and they would be content with very little.

527 On the next day activity has already begun, and the first thing is to go to the field or plot to provide themselves with sufficient maize so that there may be no lack of chicha. The women then begin to grind night and day, while the men bring in firewood; then, when /258/ there is enough firewood, they go off in considerable numbers to hunt in order to have meat and be able to invite their friends.

/258 cont./

527 574 576 When the cacique sees that all has started well, he prepares to go to the neighboring towns to ask their inhabitants to honor him with their presence on the day set, seeing to it that the first invitation is to the cacique or the sorcerer in honor of whom the feast and drinking are being prepared. The one who does the inviting is called Purumuncau vaé, he who gives to drink, and the one invited is called Ucau vaé, or he who partakes. When the one who is doing the inviting has arrived at the house of the one who is to be invited, he explains to him the object of his visit, begging him at the same time to condescend to accept, he and all his people, an acceptance which he and his will consider a great honor (1).

1. In order to further influence the decision of the one invited, the inviter, on his diplomatic visit, refers to the old custom of general libations, which it is essential to keep alive at any cost.

The one invited does not have to be told twice: he accepts at once, noting that he should have been the first to set this good example, but that circumstances and a great deal of work have not permitted him to do so, but it should not be left undone for this reason, and then he will have the honor of accepting with all his people. After this act of Chiriguano diplomacy and etiquette which they have not yet abandoned, the inviter takes his leave, satisfied with his trip, with the good reception, the acceptance, and, above all, for having gained the lead on his friend, who with his people, once the fiestas are over, will say this publicly with the following words: oremana ma pevi, we have been shamed by you, and enecatu ruyepi ne, but we shall take revenge, meaning: we shall not delay in inviting you to our town so that we may enjoy ourselves there too (2).

[721] 2. If the one invited were not to accept for himself and his people, it would be a very grave affront which undoubtedly would start a war.

/258 cont./

The Fiesta

527 The evening before the arete finds everything cleaned up and ready in the town; they have everything put outside, at a convenient distance from each house, in front of same, the vessels full of chicha already fermented, and another in the house which will be fermented in a little while so that it may not turn sour or run short. I never had the curiosity to count the vessels in these general drinking bouts, which are not very frequent; I only know that each family fills three large pitchers /259/ and from them can be deduced the quantity, or number of cannons ready there for firing and heroic defense in the battle with their owners and other hangers-on. I was at a fiesta in a town of some 350 families, and it lasted for more than a week.

301 The people invited also get ready and begin to draw near the
527 place of the arete, but first they have adorned their bodies. The
[302] coquettes round off their pompadours, paint their little faces, and wear their best clothing, as all do, adorning their necks with necklaces, their arms with bracelets, their breasts with the Boivera, and their whole persons with the Mandu or the Tiru. There is no lack of women who adorn their heads with the Aguá, a crown that they make of leaves, or of tin cans, adorned with painted wool or cotton with tassels down to the knees; in sum, they dress up in their best (1).

527
574 1. Nobody enters the town where the fiesta is being prepared; on the night before all sleep a short distance away.

The arrival of the outsiders is on the morning of the day itself. Before this takes place, the inhabitants have already arisen in order to hold the reception. Those invited, after getting up, again clean up their persons and their adornments; the chief, ucau vaé, mounts a horse, which is also done by the other riders, and they begin to gallop like a troop of madmen, whistling and shouting as loudly as they can; those who are on foot follow, running in the same way; next come the young women, also

/259 cont./

527 running, and at the end the mature women and the old women
574 more calmly (2).

2. The first men and women enter the town where they have been invited, making an uproar like a thousand demons, in which they are joined by the startled dogs.

527 All the men and women gather in front of the house of the
574 cacique, purumuncau vaé, who bids them all welcome, thanks
273 them for the honor that they are doing him, and there then takes place a quite ridiculous scene, which is greatly celebrated by the Indians. The host cacique has placed in front of his house a large vessel full of chicha, which sticks out of the ground at least a meter high. Well then, before the libation begins, they all jump from one side of the vessel to the other. This jump is called Ucaugüiñampo in some places, and in others, Uyapirae. As I have said, all of them jump, men and women, and especially the unmarried young men and women; some do it without any trouble, and others, particularly some of the girls, stumble because of their laughter and their tight clothing, fall to the ground, and this contretempts/260/ causes much hilarity. While this is going on, the older women and men arrive, and the fiesta begins.

527 There is nothing special in the beginning; it is only note-
273 worthy that as the beverage has been prepared in honor of a particular person, he is served first and continually; he must accept some from all the men and women, for otherwise he would be impolite, and thus in a short time the guest's belly is like a swollen bomb and soon his face begins to look repulsive, just as all those of the retinue are not long in having the same appearance (1).

1. During the extraordinary drinking sessions, rare is the family that prepares Copiruru, or recooked chicha, because it is very intoxicating and disturbs the animation of the guests and townspeople.

/260 cont./

527 The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with
273 a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated
[554] on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others
[562] sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and
these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

> 2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any *chicha* for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

527 The Dance and Songs

533 By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and
126 singing of the *Ayarise*. I do not give the Spanish words here, for
the real meaning is not known; I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the *Ayarise* are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: *risum teneatis amici*. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

/261/

The Music for the Ayarise

527 535 533 [293] The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

[293] [126] 1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

527 535 After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

527 533 The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

[539] Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chúrere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

/261 cont./

527 533 539 to know the approximate meaning of the Ayarise, and so I put it in this note: "Let us sing, companions -- let us keep on singing -- with our women -- and orphans -- we are all here -- singing and dancing -- I know and I like this song -- The toad and the green frog stop -- and the rabbit makes an effort -- I am tired -- I stop and go off. Eh! Eh!

527 535 533 The Chiriguano can sing all day with these few verses, as in fact they do, but with rests. In order to finish the song all together and rest and drink for a long while, the men make a great stamp on the ground with one foot in time /262/ and a shout out of time, and everything stops with a special resounding and prolonged laughter of the women dancers.

Without leaving the circle of the singing and dancing, the lord of the fiesta has the dancers served abundant drink, which they partake of to their satisfaction in order to begin the Ayarise again as they were doing before, always at the command of the Purumuncau vaé and under the direction of the maestro, who does not put down his Yandugua (1).

[293] 1. There is one maestro of the ayarise, and he always has his yandugua, but this does not prohibit others from having one; there may be as many as ten in one dance, and they serve as parasols when the heat is very oppressive. The Indian Guarerai of Ivu had six and he lent them out during the solemn fiestas of the town.

527 The dancing and singing of the ayarise continues in this fashion until nine or ten in the morning; then the banquet is prepared in the public plaza, where they choose the cleanest place. There men and women sit down in separate places, and at once they bring from the houses the food, which has been prepared upon plates, where there is broth mixed with meat well seasoned with salt and chili peppers. Meanwhile two enthusiasts of the town

/262 cont./

527 are gathering together all the people, shouting like madmen and making known their great joy. The lord of the fiesta has arranged beforehand that the morning reception should take place in one location and the afternoon affair in another, and in this way not only is there time to prepare, but there is also food every day for the outsiders and for those who are not outsiders.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock more or less, they eat again with more enthusiasm than before, because their happiness is greater and then, it will be understood, *ex abundantia musti os loquitur*. But great friendship and harmony prevail; then they sing a little more, one by one, and when the sun sets there is a general rest (2).

[622] [178] 2. From the afternoon oration until two in the morning there is complete silence; at that hour the song begins anew, with dancing and drinking. Today, since the voice of the cacique is little heeded, there is no schedule.

535
184
173

Mbapa páure

This dance is similar to a quadrille; couples execute it by making turns through the streets of the town, both day and night. According to what the Indians of Ivu say, the *Mbapa páure* is not general for the Chiriguano race, but peculiar to certain regions, and it is not more than a hundred years old. They even say that it had its origin /263/ at the foot of the *Itácua* mountain range in Cordillera Province and then spread there up to Menbirái and Choreti Guasu.

When the war of the cacique Yaveáu took place, the Indians of Gũĩracoti, living on the left bank of the stream of Cuevo, fled to the left bank of the Parapiti River, where they stayed and learned this new dance and song. Thus, when they returned to their lands, when Yaveáu, through having avenged himself excessively, had pardoned and forgotten the affront he had received, they brought back the novelty and began to introduce it into their towns.

/263 cont./

535 184 173 Someone went to teach it in the towns located behind the hill of Aguaragũe, and the towns located on the right bank of the Cuevo River intended to introduce it, but, seeing the dismal consequences that resulted from it, they have abstained to this day, so that it is a fact that the *Mbapa páure* is now limited to the small towns of Caraguatarenta, Ñagua, and Caraguatagũe, and it is certain that it is neither heard nor seen in the large towns of Santa Rosa and Ivu, which are a few kilometers away (1).

[837] 1. In the towns where the *Mbapa páure* is sung, there are upset marriages, because the dance is between a man and woman holding hands, which does not happen in the *Ayarise*; therefore, or to avoid said upsets, many caciques do not allow it to be introduced into their area of jurisdiction.

The Music of the *Mbapa páure*

627 533 535 [184] This is another piece of music which has been scored for a band by the Reverend Father Domingo F. Regini; it is much simpler than the *ayarise,* but the song and dance attract a great deal of attention, because they are not known in all the Chiriguano towns. It is a kind of carnival which lasts for a long time, but when the said time is over, nobody again remembers the *Mbapa páure* until a year has passed. Here are the words of
[539] the song: *Tavia*, *Tavia* -- *Erecosiye mbapa páure* -- *Tirisoti*, *tirisoti* -- *Ancua chopi* -- *Chopi nano saraviyé* -- *Eh*! *Eh*! *Uetepeso*, *gũeremeso* -- *Yagua tairari*, *yagua tairari* -- *Yurumbopi* -- *Yémanta* -- *Eh*! *Eh*! (2).

2. Explanation: Let us sing the *mbapa paure*, like the blackbird sings, let us sing until we are left with our mouths twisted and we are tired, even though it give us a pain in the chest, let us challenge even the jaguar, and let our mouths stretch. Eh! Eh!

/263 cont./

527 The fiesta of the Ayarise is an annual one, and it is always
273 understood that the Indians have drink; thus in the general fiestas
it does not end in one day; /264/ it lasts a long time until the
chicha bottled in the vessels outside comes to an end; when this
is finished, they repair to the large pitchers indoors, which are
527 in reserve, like the reserve corps in a war. After eight or ten
574 days the fiesta can be considered at an end, and then the ucau
vaé with all his soldiers takes leave of the purumuncau vaé with
thousands of thanks, congratulating him for the order which has
been maintained, the joy which has reigned, and the abundance
of food and drink prepared. On finishing the praises, the guest
in turn invites his friend and all the people for a similar affair in
his tribe, with the month and day immediately being set.

527 Thus does the Chiriguano fiesta end, leaving everyone con-
273 tent and satisfied. But it is repugnant to see them drink without
resting; the surroundings of these places look as though they were flooded by rain, their bodies give off an unpleasant odor, their faces seem swollen, their eyes out of their sockets, their lips with the tembeta sag like a baby lamb's, and just to approach one of them or the place where they are drinking is the same as approaching a sewer, such is the fetidness! But the Chiriguano is very content and glories in the piglike state in which he finds himself, saying, Asagüĩpo, I am drunk, and when he is getting over his drunkenness, he confirms what a good state he was in. Poor beast! (1)

[178] 1. Formerly, the intoxication of the Chiriguano
was almost never complete; today, with the use
of liquor, he frequently loses consciousness.
Would that this harmful drink could be elimi-
[797] nated! The mission Indians no longer glory in
[177] their drunkenness; they say that they have been
drunk, but not as an honorable act.

/264 cont./

But unfortunately worse beasts than the Chiriguano are found. and some are the civilized persons who profess the doctrine of Epicurus; these, not content with getting drunk and eating more than a beast, throw up in order to stuff themselves again, and furthermore, in their dances and parties, they make a diabolical mixture of both sexes. Indeed, it seems that civilization walks on all fours and is giving way to savagery, and it is to be preferred that there should not penetrate among the savages a certain modern civilization which perverts these simple ones, whose customs are natural and they do not perform their acts with the refinement of the civilized.

Without going very far, let us enter a large aldea, which I do not wish to name; let us look for a barrio that has a name; let us enter one of the many chicha places there; what a spectacle! Chairs overturned, women stretched out full length, without even knowing the state they are in; /265/ men in frock coats lie on benches, if not on the ground, with their clothing unbuttoned, choco /crowned/ hat under the tables, frock coats tossed down like rags, handled canes thrown in a corner pellmell, kerchiefs here, mantas there, boots on the floor, wine containers mixed with glasses; in sum, complete disorder, the effects of drunkenness from drinking, the product of material civilization, of lay teaching, schooling without God.

One does not see in the Arete of the Chiriguano as much filthiness and scandal, as much disorder and abjection, as are seen in the taverns of certain countries, where one does not drink under the pretext of a fiesta; one drinks for the sake of drinking, as one kills for the sake of killing; no, the Chiriguano is very far from doing this. If it is being introduced to a degree, it is the effect of the contact which the barbarian has begun to have with civilized man.

Profound modern thinkers have recognized this truth, despite their having remained for a short time among these and other Indians in a completely savage state; however, let us set aside this account which is painful to the spirit and once more take up our story.

/265 cont./

52 517 They spend the rest of the year in diversions, playing cards and shooting dice, hunting doves and wild animals, going fishing, or fishing where the large rivers are, organizing private drinking parties, today in one barrio, tomorrow in another, today in Mengano's house, tomorrow in Fulano's, the day after tomorrow in Sempronio's, until planting time returns once more.

The Indian concerns himself very little about his house, which sometimes is at the point of falling in on him; his house is better ventilated than a sieve, it rains more inside than out, he sleeps there almost like a toad, he sleeps on the damp ground or above it on a miserable cot, placed over the mud or the water, and his sleep is like that of the dormouse (1).

[164] 1. This way of life in the dampness in their houses or outside of them is the cause of many skin diseases, fevers, and tumors.

Hospitality

574 576 The Chiriguano is very hospitable and it would be hard to find any other race which is his equal in this; he receives and serves everyone in his house, both whites and those of familiar condition, for example, the Toba, and, with greater reason, those of his own race. They visit from one town to another, and at the first meeting or at first sight they say immediately, /266/ depending upon the age of the person seen: Ndempuama pa tuti? good day, uncle, if it is in the morning; Ndecaaruma pa? good afternoon; or Ndepintuma pa? good evening. Literally, these three salutations have another meaning. The first means "Have you reached this day, have you arisen healthy and vigorous?" The second, "Have you reached the afternoon?" And the third, "Have you reached the evening?" He who receives the greeting answers, Ampuama, checaaruma, or chepintuma, respectively.

/266 cont./

574 The second t of the word tuti is pronounced double (1).
576
[194]

1. In other places the salutation is different. They say Catapiri or Aguyeti, good things, prosperity. But the other seems to me to be more in conformity with the universal salutation, as is done everywhere.

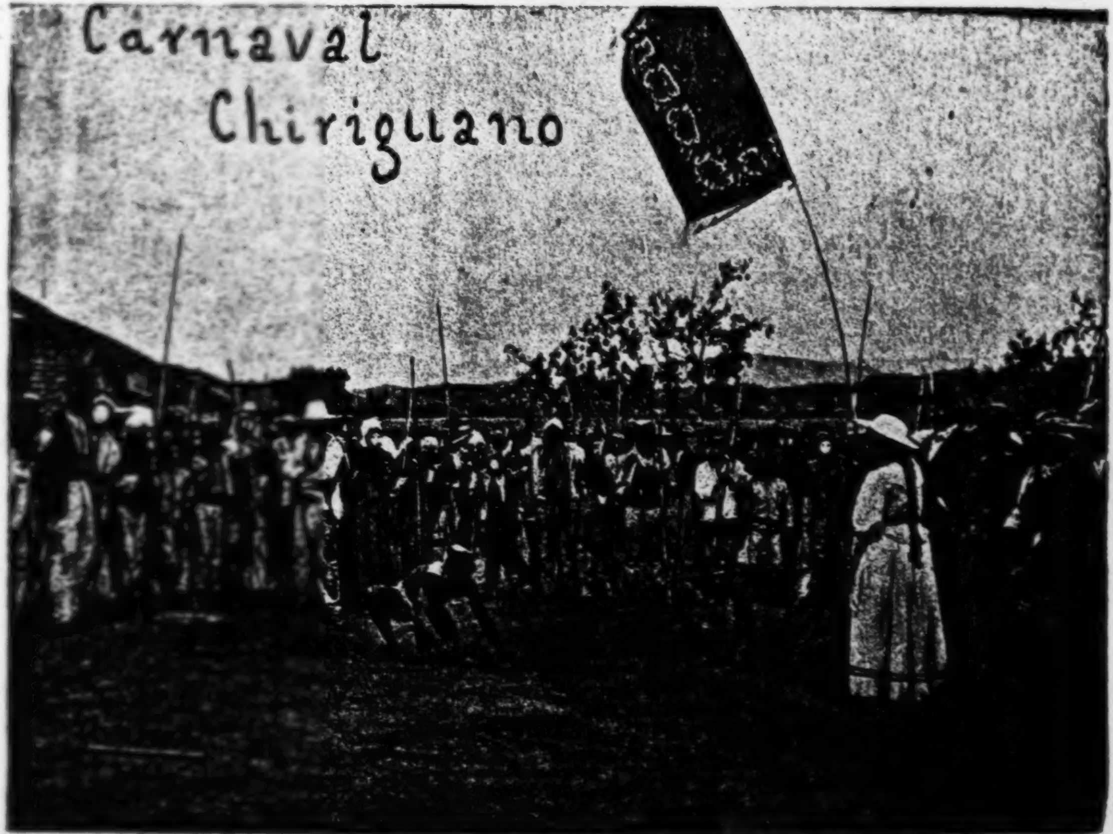
If the visitor is a person he knows, the host then says, Nde pa co? Is it thee? And the other answers, Checo, it is I, and then goes on to say Imeño pa nei? Are you living? Imeño aí, I am living. And he enters the house of his uncle, grandfather, brother-in-law, or whoever it may be, since it seems that the Chiriguano has relatives everywhere, and he would have them all over the world, if there were Chiriguano all over the world.

574 Often it is the cacique who receives strangers, if these come
576 looking for him, as naturally happens, but any Indian at whose
622 house he may come will at once say to him with all courtesy, Eyú, come in, if he is on foot, and Egũeyi, come down, if he is mounted. At once he presents him with the best seat that he has and begins the conversation; meanwhile the lady of the house puts at his disposal a large jar of chicha with the respective maté or tumbler, and, aided by her daughters, she prepares the best
123 meal. The captain, or cacique, of Tiasía prepared for me a
[622] maté of boiled corn with salt, arivivi, or very hot chili peppers, and hard-boiled eggs chopped into small pieces.

I noted the great cleanness of the food and the utensils, and then, as I have already said elsewhere, I had a long talk with the Indian, who was quite loquacious and frank, about various religious matters, and in conclusion he made me understand that he would not go to the Boicovo Mission or to the others, because prayer and baptism cause death; that my companions and I had made it not rain that night in order that we might not get wet, and that it is not God who created man, and, when asked who it was, he answered naturally and with astonishment, Ndicuaá á pa? Don't you know? (2) /Illustration appears here./

797
771 2. In the other place I did not set down everything

[Text Continues on P. 362]


Carnaval
Chiriguano

Chiriguano carnival, "The Fight of the Bull with the Jaguar."

292
527
541

4: Nino--361 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/266 cont./

797 that the cacique had said with reference to their
771 idea of the missionary, whom they consider to be very powerful with regard to the elements of nature; this Indian's ideas concerning the creation of man are very base and immoral; other, more enlightened ones do not tell it this way.

574 /267/ Whether the visit is long or short, at the time of leav-
576 ing the guest thanks the master of the house, saying, Ayirobia catu ndereé, I thank you very much, and goes off, saying, Aha ye ma, I am going, and the master of the house answers, Tumpa reño eguata, travel or go with God, but first he makes him promise to come back to visit him whenever it is convenient.

Carnival

541 If I ask the Indians of Ivu who introduced the carnival among
177 them, some answer that it was the subprefect of Lagunillas who came and built a small fort here and another in Cuevo; others say that it was a white man whom I know and shall not name, and I conclude that it was both of them. The former told them that the carnival was a fiesta of merrymaking, and the latter taught them to do it the way they do it today, as I shall go on to describe. If I ask other Indians, they answer that they learned it from the whites, from which it can be deduced that this general madness is not their own; they do it because they like everything which smacks of killing time, drinking, and dancing. The very word "carnival" indicates that it is not a Chiriguano
[184] fiesta; therefore it should not be confused with the Mbapa pâure, which is somewhat similar because of its immorality; this latter is older and is not found in every tribe, in addition to having a set time, after the first cold until about the middle of July (1).

[648] 1. The whites of Cordillera, with their chief, set up the said fortifications after the rebels who had attacked Igüembe had been defeated; they had not come to help the subprefect of Azero.

/367 cont./

541 Don Antonio Menduiña, who had requested aid;
(177) he fought on bravely alone, helped by his soldiers
[648] from Azero.

Thus, even though it is not of Chiriguano origin, the carnival
[178] is greatly celebrated here, so much so that it bears the name of
Arete, fiesta, through antonomasia, and all the old fiestas are
[461] gradually disappearing, yielding to this one. For the days that
[292] this residue of paganism lasts, the Chiriguano works almost all
year in spite of the laziness that accompanies him; for it is he gladly helps the whites, receiving in exchange money to buy clothing for himself and his wife and children; and on these days all are on great parade, showing off luxurious garments of every form and color, garments which, to be sure, they do not dare put on /368/ during the other days of the year, neither for the Ayarise nor for the *Mbapa pëara*.

In such circumstances there is hardly any difference between
[532] blacks and whites; the men well dressed, and even the infidel
women with garb adorned with gauze, fancy hats, and multicolored ribbon; the children cover their faces with masks which they have made beforehand by carving *toborochi* wood; young men prefer to show off on horseback, riding at a gallop, and others, such as the old people, amuse themselves by looking at the dancers and *Agüeros* /maskers/, for whom everything is allowed because it is carnival.

541 By way of preparation for the big fiesta, or because one
535 drinks and has fun, they make merry on the *compadre* and
[529] *comadre* days, and on Quinquagesima Saturday, all day, the
maskers and dancers practice the dances that they call *Atica*.
[532] On the next day from eight to nine they begin the carnival,
dancing to the music of drums and flutes of hollow cane, and the one who is called lord of the fiesta is someone in disguise with a mask that depicts an old man with a white beard, usually mounted on a burro; the one who is thus disguised directs the fiesta, makes his speeches in each corner of the plaza, recommending harmony and happiness (1).

1. The principal man so disguised has subalterns.

/308 cont./

541
535

> who also give their long or short speeches. If asked, the masked men say that their town or region is Matamoroche.

If there is no partner, the women dance among themselves, but as soon as a man appears, she dances with him, holding hands, and many couples dance quite close together; their style of dancing is to raise first one foot and then the other to the rhythm of the music. The zapateo /tapping with the feet/, as they call this dance, lasts until the Sunday or Saturday of Temptation without rest, and on the next day, which is the last, the games begin. 541 At ten o'clock several young men in masks and nude, leaving covered what is purely necessary, cover themselves completely with mud, furiously approach the group of dancers, and then charge in every direction, squeezing among the better dressed and thus creating confusion among all. This game is called the game of the pigs, and they imitate them very well" (2).

> 2. Before this game the disguised men pour over the dancers bean pods and maize siftings left from the preparation of the chicha; this is in order that there may be plenty in the following year.

/309/ The games in the afternoon are quite varied: once the game of the pigs is finished, or even before, two little blacks come out with maize-husk cigars in the mouth and a rope in the hand, leading a person in the disguise of a bull, who is defended and protected by a luxuriously dressed woman, who holds up a flag hanging from a hollow-cane pole; the little blacks are the bull's masters and they even lead dogs, and when the bull is under the flag, he is not bothered much.

At the same time, as though he had come out of the forest, another person appears disguised as a jaguar, and he begins to fight with the bull; if the bull begins to get the worst of it, the masked men who play the role of dogs rush to his defense and hound the jaguar, as those on horseback also do. Once

/369 cont./

541 in a while the jaguar catches some little dog and makes it cry out, and sometimes it unseats some rider. After a longer or shorter time, the bull or jaguar dies in the battle; generally the former survives, because they kill the latter among them all, between the dogs and cowboys. Then people in disguise who are playing the role of butchers appear, buy the bull from the little blacks with stone or bone money, and butcher it.

535
541 Immediately the dancers form a large circle, holding on to each other with both hands, and they dance this way three times; a number of women huddle over and three others pass under the extended arms of one couple of the circle itself, and a number of others join together, forming a big mass with faces outward, with hands linked together and crossed, remaining this way until another couple dances around them without holding hands, but rather with the man trying not to be caught by the woman, and, if this happens, he then hides amidst the others until his companion has gone by, coming out again to dance until he has gone three times around, taking the same precautions each time as on the first (1).

> 1. The circle is made up of all the couples who have come to participate in the fiesta; it is made up of a man and a woman with both arms extended and with the hands held; the circle takes up a lot of space, according to the number of couples.

Finally, with the whole circle dancing, they make three circuits in the town, dancing, hands joined, at the corners of the plaza and in front of the houses where they had danced on the previous days. /370/ All of the masked persons join in the first circuit; they form their circle and the head man makes his speech, then the older ones form a seat with their canes crossed, make a little boy sit there, raise him up some two meters, form with crossed canes a shield around his head, and all the rest pour on him a prolonged shower of blows with the hollow cane, without hurting him, and then they let him down. They do this three

/270 cont./

535 times in different locations (1).
541

[292] [562] [177]

> 1. At the carnival, during the three days, there are women who dress like men and men who dress like women, but both cover their faces well so as not to be recognized; this was also taught them by the white man.

[152] On the second circuit all the Agüeros, the masked ones, a mestizo term, ask from house to house for provisions, and they accept everything, even bean pods and watermelon rinds, and on the third circuit, which is the farewell, there begins the wailing of big and small masked persons, laden with provisions and scraps; these weepers really make the old people and others cry, because some of them are thinking of their departed ones who are not present at this festivity which is ending, and others perhaps because they think they will not get to see another carnival. I questioned an old man who was really crying, and he gave me the preceding answer. When the last circuit ends with the drums muffled as a sign of sorrow, all of them, riders, dancers, and agüeros, go out of the town and go to a place where they throw away the masks and immediately go to the river, or a spring, to wash their hands and faces a little (2).

535
541
177

> 2. All of the foregoing games in Ivu were taught them by the same white man whom I have mentioned, and in the beginning he taught them by demonstration, causing astonishment, particularly in the women and the old persons; many of the said games are immoral, especially the circles and the massed group.

796
177

Easter

Forty days later the Chiriguano has another fiesta, that of the Pascua de Resurrección /Easter/, which was introduced by the whites; the old Indians call it nice because it is quiet, as they call the carnival very noisy.

/270 cont./
796 call the carnival very noisy. There is nothing special about it
and it lasts three days; /271/ some play the violin, and men
and women sing the Alleluja. Couples hold hands as they walk
through the streets. If both are women, they walk with their
[533] arms about each other's neck. They sing through the streets
[554] and in the houses and in front of them; in this latter case it is
a sign of esteem for a family. The words are few: Osi ma Pascua,
[539] alleluja, Easter has come, alleluia, Ucuera yema Yandeya,
alleluja, Our Master came back to life, alleluia (1).

1. The song of Alleluia begins as follows:
Santísima Trinidad /Most Holy Trinity/,
osi ma pascua Aleluya; aleluya, aleluya,
aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, etc.
Ucuera yema—Yandeya, Jesucristo; aleluya,
aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya, aleluya,
[194] etc. The s of Osi is pronounced as though it
were double.

000 /272/

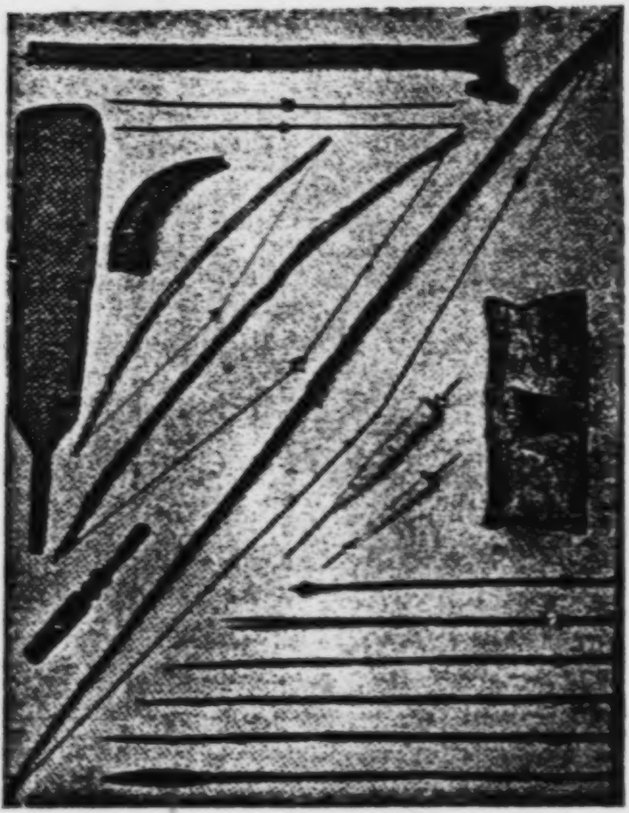
Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

Introduction

There is no people or nation in the world which has not experienced the horrors of a war more or less bloody, more or less prolonged, and more or less disastrous. Troy burns, and Aeneas, the founder of the Roman Empire, takes advantage of the confusion, avails himself of the very darkness as his shield, and saves himself. /The remainder of p. 272 and the first paragraph on p. 273 are omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 273. The remainder of p. 273 follows./

412
411
534
283
352



Bows, arrows, etc. /see p.382 for additional explanation/.

/273 cont./

175 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants
727 of the region that they now occupy. Other savages
728 had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right
of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the
invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained
as vassals in their own land and little by little came to
an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory,
648 leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they
[101] had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with
calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos,
175 cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people
648 or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives.
797 What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the
Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the
missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and
648 Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his
797 haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who
does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man,
who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of
Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience,
although much more gently, what they made the
invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of
[181] Curuyuqui, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot
be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that
has existed here (2).

175 2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in
648 order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano
727 treated the Tapíi with great cruelty: according
266 to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti,
they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/273 cont./

721 I am not going to consider the Chiriguano at war with the Incas or with the Spaniards or with the whites who occupy the region. I am going to consider him at war with his own kind, or with the inhabitants of /274/ other towns which border his. Sensitive to the extreme, the Indian will fight on any pretext, however minor it may be considered, such as the abduction of a woman, her attempted violation, cattle stealing, or any other offense; they are enough to make the pride of the native scheme for vengeance and carry it out without any loss of time.

721 Among the Indians of Ivu there is still kept alive the memory
173 of the four or five wars which the regional cacique Yaveáu of
643 Cuevo and its vicinity waged against Yuti, where among the
[727] women killed was the wife of the Indian Cairama, who still
lives in the Santa Rosa Mission; against Choreti, where, while retreating, he killed several whites; against Itau and Carapari, from where he brought a small cannon as booty; and against Parapiti, where he was defeated, leaving some 200 victims on the battlefield on the left bank of the river. It has already been seen in the preceding pages that the cause which brought about this prolonged and bloody war was the attempt of the cacique Gũĩracoti with regard to Yaveáu's wife, which he avenged to excess (1).

> 1. The cacique Yaveáu waged a war of extermination against all the towns noted, because they all fought on Gũĩracoti's side, but he could do nothing against Chituri, the cacique of Parapiti.

721 My readers, having thus understood that the Chiriguano is
411 very warlike, must be convinced of another truth, that is, that
they are prepared to take up arms on any occasion, from which it can be deduced also that it is a fact that in every house they had available as many bows as there were persons fit for war, in addition to having ready as many dozens of arrows, because it was a law that in war each warrior had to carry at least a dozen.

/274 cont./

Offensive War and Weapons

643 701 705 When a tribe was preparing to attack another, if it foresaw that it would last longer than usual, and the cacique judged that more preparations were required, in his position as supreme chief or captain general he would commission subalterns called Queremba, experts, to inspect all the armament available, and if the report of these chiefs was not satisfactory, a general order was given to make up and repair all the deficiencies as quickly as possible.

411 824 [283] The bows and arrows were made in the public plaza or outside each house; the wood which was to serve for bows was different from that for arrows. War bows measured /275/ a meter and a half more or less, and to shoot one they used a twisted cord made of pygmy-deer hide, which was both light and strong. The wood that they use even today for hunting bows is called Igüirapitiragua.

The arrows are made of different kinds of wood, but the most common are Ovei, guayancansillo /a kind of guaicum/, Yaguasíi, tola, and Igüirane, smelly wood. This last is very poisonous, and the tribe that uses it must be a very bad enemy of his opponent, because whoever is wounded with these arrows will recover only with difficulty, and the wound is a continual suppuration of illness, which slowly consumes him, almost without any hope of his being able to be helped and to enjoy life once more with his companions.

Every arrow ends in a point, and on both sides it has its edges the opposite way so that when it enters the flesh it is difficult to remove, and one who does not know how to remove it can produce a greater wound than the one the arrow made when it entered. [283] [239] The arrow is inserted into a little piece of hollow cane, one meter long, where it is securely attached with string made of toborochi bark, and the string is covered with a little bit of wax (1).

---

1. At the end of the cane, with the same string and wax, many attach a feather of a falcon or of a carcancho, not for decoration, but so that the shot may be more accurate. The feathers of these birds are more resistant than others.

/275 cont./

411 Warriors on horseback, in addition to having bows and arrows,
[492] use the lance; it is a piece of a knife or of iron tied to the tip
of a stick; note that each warrior, according to what they say,
cannot carry more than a dozen arrows, because they are heavy.
534 In order to inspire terror and fright in the attack they make on
726 the enemy town, they use the Igüiramimbi, a wooden musical
instrument, the Senene, and the Huacananti, or cow's horn (2).

> 2. The first is round, and it is very hard to pierce it, and the second is long. Both are of good wood, and they engrave figures and signs on them. They hang them from the neck by means of a cord. The wood is like ebony.

722 While some of them are preparing the bows and arrows, the braver men do not remain idle, nor do the women; the latter prepare the necessary provisions and even the chicha to celebrate the triumph, if they win it, and the former encourage the more cowardly ones, showing their ability as queremba in the streets and the plaza, animating them all, making them understand that triumph depends on them and that it is necessary to triumph at all costs if they do not wish to be subjected to the harsh condition of the conquered, thus losing everything, wife, children, home, and property.

726 /276/ When all the weapons are ready, those of the cavalry
704 saddle their horses, putting the arrows on the right side, so that
they can easily get them in case of urgency, because it is
characteristic of the cavalry to yell insults at the enemy and to
sow confusion on the battlefield with shouts and the noise of the
igüiramimbi, huacananti, and porongos. Then, all of them,
[292] foot soldiers, horsemen, and queremba, don their garb, some the
[714] jacket /coleto/, others armor of garabatá, and they put on the
[411] back of the left hand a strap of pygmy-deer hide, so that they
will not hurt themselves when they shoot the bow, and, finally,
[302] they all color their faces and arms with ground charcoal
dampened in water. Let the reader consider if this army of
demons would not frighten even the dead!

/276 cont./

March and Inspection

726 Finally they take leave of their families, telling them to be very careful not to go far from the town. The cacique gives his [727] instructions to the men who stay behind on guard; the women once more tell their husbands to fight like brave men and to bring back the heads of their enemies in order to drink chicha from their skulls, and then, in perfect order, the march of the army toward 701 the place of combat begins. They say that the cacique does not 643 carry arms and that his presence only serves for giving orders that they promptly execute without losing any time (1).

1. If the cacique were seen to be attacked or surrounded by the enemy, his soldiers, especially the cavalry, would come quickly and boldly to his defense.

726 The combat is never begun by day or late at night, but in the early morning. For this reason, before the soldiers depart, they calculate the distance and the time that it may take to cover it. In order not to be seen or heard, they go through the woods, if there are any, and try to arrive at night at a certain distance from the enemy town. They make their camp at a distance of four or five cuadras and wait for the dawn, in order to be able to enjoy their triumph, the pillaging and other ensuing things, by the light of day, or to be able to beat an orderly retreat in case of defeat (2).

2. Nobody in the town discovers the proximity of the enemy, because the Indians do not go out of their town after midnight, and the invading horsemen with their horses stay at a suitable distance so that the horses will not give them away with their neighing.

/277/

726 But before the combat begins one or two of the bravest men go out of the camp at the cacique's order to reconnoiter the field [825] or enemy town. The scouts enter the enemy town with every precaution, imitating, on the one hand, the noise of the fox, on the other the call of the Yancuruntu, owl, and, finally, that of the Surumucucu. If no one discovers the presence of these scouts, the combat when it comes is terrible, but, if they are discovered, the alarm signal is given, and the fight begins at once, into which the ones invaded throw themselves with their naked bodies, and they may easily come out victorious, throwing back the enemy in their formidable charge (1).

> 1. From this the whites deduce and believe that the Indians are preparing for war against them when they hear the Yancuruntu, owl, in their houses in the country.

The scouts, if they are not discovered, leave the town with much caution, return without delay to the camp, and report to the cacique the state of the enemy, and all listen with great interest to this account. The cacique thanks the scouts for their valor, intrepidity, and daring and once more charges all to be careful and brave in the coming attack. Then he orders silence, and they all rest without sleeping, each group talking in very low voices so that nobody will sense their presence.

726 714 292 Before the hour of combat comes, the cacique and the queremba order the preparations; the riders saddle their horses and come up to the infantry soldiers, who tighten their bows and put on their wrist the deerhide guard, fasten their aprons or girdles at the waist to cover the most delicate part of the body, some of them put on the armor, Ayo, made of tree bark, others the Tiru, lifted to the waist, and all of them put on ostrich feathers, chicken feathers, or maize husks around their faces so that they can recognize one another in the heat of battle, not wound one another, and assist one another in case one or more of them is surrounded by the enemy.

/277 cont./

Combat and Pillaging

726 Finally, the infantrymen get in the center, the horsemen on both sides, and the queremba in front, because they must [704] always be the first to be wounded. Matters thus arranged, facing /278/ the enemy, still in bed, the invading army moves forward at a trot, and when it has come as far as some 100 meters from the town, the infantrymen and horsemen set out at full speed, they pound the horns, porongos, senene, and igüiramimbi, all the soldiers raise an infernal shout and sow confusion in the little town. The inhabitants, losing no time, take up arms and come out to fight with courage. The women, children, and dogs add to the confusion and run in terror to hide if they can. Mean- 726 727 while the combat is terrible and bloody on every side, the invaders fight with tenacity for victory, and those invaded, for their own defense, for that of their wives, children, and property. They fall, some run through by an arrow, others opened by a lance, those seriously wounded and dragged by their long hair, these trampled by the horses of the cavalrymen, who charge the unfortunate ones without pity or mercy (1).

[621] 1. Chiriguano towns were formerly made up of 40 or 50 families, and therefore the combat could not last for many hours, since those invaded were in addition taken by surprise.

In a few minutes the little plaza and the streets are full of dead and wounded. Some of the cavalrymen detain the fleeing children and women and prevent the flight of the defenders, who--a few of them--have been trying to give up the unequal fight. The fight is over before the sun appears. If the number of defenders is quite low, the invading cacique stops the battle and orders the killing of the few survivors, without concerning himself with those who have already fled.

/278 cont./

726 727 Then they enter the houses, pillage anything of value they find, break al the clay vessels, pour out all the chicha, without taking any forfear that it may be poisoned, and, finally, before the eyes of the women and children prisoners, set fire to the town, which burns until it is reduced to ashes.

[203] As soonas victory has been declared by the invaders, the cacique orders that one of the horsemen take the happy news to their town, sothat the women can rejoice and finish the fermentation of the chcha. Meanwhile, when the pillaging is over and the houses reduced to ashes, they divide among all of them the women, girls, and children, and take them triumphantly back to the town. Some lancers opped from their victims some heads of the men killed in the combat, which will serve as trophies of war.

/279/ After the Victory

727 524 857 The victors are received with extraordinary joy, and then all glances are firs fixed on the heads that are on the tips of their lances; they isult them and jeer them with much cruelty, hang them from some tree in the town or in the plaza, and there they stay as toys for the ittle boys, who set up games using them as targets to learn the use of the arrow and be good shots, and when they have become tired of seeing them there, they take them down, tie them to strings, and drag them through the streets, attracting everybody's attention with their shouting and games. They are thus very inhumane, and their parents watch with pleasure what their children are doing (1).

1. Ater or during the war of Curuyuqui, they brought to the town the head of the Indian Chahico, and they did more or less what I have said, with slight differences.

/279 cont./

727 Those who are older, men and women, surround the poor prisoners and insult them until they are tired, recriminate against them for the war, to which their husbands may have given rise, mock once more the memory of the dead men who did not know how to defend their town, calling them men of no courage, good only for women's work, good only for making chicha, and when they are tired of talking, the festivities begin with drinking, dancing, and singing, with which they celebrate their splendid victory.

The prisoners remain silent, do not raise their heads, do
not say a word, and even refuse to eat food if it is offered them.
They cannot oppose the brutal acts of their conquerers, who would
put an end to their lives if they attempted to do such a thing.
797 The last war of Curuyuqui is still living proof of what has been
727 said, but happily many unfortunate women had help in their
misery because of the presence of the missionary (2).

2. When the defenseless damsels understood the intention of their masters, they ran away, making a joke of the vigilance of those brutes, entered the school as a last refuge, and learned religion.

727 During the days of celebration and afterward, they start
[525] playing their dice game, and they wager the prisoners, who are no
good to them, among whom are the mature women, boys and
children under seven, and an occasional girl whose new owner does
[437] not need her. When they are tired of them, they barter them or
[438] sell them for nothing, for a sheep, a goat, /280/ a hat. The
sale or barter is not done in the town of the conquerers, but in
others farther away. Thus it happens that many innocent boys and
girls may find there relatives who would pay even more than what
is asked for them.

/280 cont./

Defensive Warfare

72 But the invading army is not always victorious, as in the case just related. Sometimes it gets the worst of things, and then the complete reverse happens. Those who were left in town weep when they get the news; the defeated men return, and they all weep about the defeat they have suffered, and many for the death of their loved ones. Without losing any time they prepare for defense, because they know perfectly well that the ones invaded will quickly take revenge for the injury received, appearing before them as invaders.

Then there are many and similar precautions for both armies. The town which awaits the vengeance arranges for all those unfit for combat to get to safety with their few belongings at a certain distance from the town and, if at all possible, in a secret place. They position sentries day and night, and any noise, any cloud of dust, any sign is immediately reported to the cacique and to the queremba (1).

> 1. They put sentries on all the high places. This is what both armies did in the year 1892, the one from Curuyuqui in Ivu and those being besieged around the Santa Rosa Mission.

When a town is prepared for defense, the combat in the area is atrocious, and, if the number of combatants is equal, the invaders get the worst of it. Without surrendering, they abandon the field after a few hours and beat a retreat until all danger has disappeared, and they return to their homes neither defeated nor triumphant.

722
782 While the men fight or go to battle, the women raise their supplications to the sun, throw sand or ashes into the air in the direction of the enemy, and in a very sad tone of voice, letting fall sincere tears which would move anyone, they say in a high voice, Tiamini, cheru cuarasi, tuguáicho pochi, tiamini, tiaminiete, tumano pochi, may they be defeated, my father the sun, the perfidious enemies, may they be defeated, very badly defeated, may the evil ones die.

/280 cont./
000 defeated, may the evil ones die. While the war lasts, it is the
722 rule that women and their daughters must not sit in a squatting
784 position, but with their legs stretched /281/ out in front, so that
516 their fathers and husbands who are in battle will not feel any
828 tiredness (1).

722 1. The Italian del Campano, relying on the
533 writings of Father Giannecchini, a missionary
535 of the Colegio de Tarija, writes in his work
177 that, before the fighting began and during it,
women and maidens come out to the plaza and
in a loud voice sing and dance the Aré aré.
This song and dance must have originated
among the Toba, who at that time were numerous
in the Gran Chaco region, because in the Ivu
region and other regions they scarcely know
the name of the Aré aré, and not all share
in that knowledge, as has been proved, for in
no combat which has occurred to the north,
south, and west of Ivu has the Aré, aré been
danced and sung.

726 During the Curuyuqui war the Santa Rosa mission was in-
727 vaded by the rebels, who, in spite of their number and strength,
were unable to enter the town which they intended to burn. Then and afterward the missionaries witnessed painful scenes of women who, crying their hearts out, raised their voices and threw ashes to obscure the enemies' vision. Bitter memories of that massacre are still retained, at which some of them laugh today, but they cried then. Whenever I hear the sad stories, my eyes overflow with tears (2).

726 2. The Curuyuqui rebels first attacked the town of
Cuevo, whose inhabitants had taken refuge in
Santa Rosa the night before. In a few days they
[648) attacked the mission, from which it can be
concluded that their hate was against the whites,
and concomitantly against the Indians who were

/281 cont./

726 helping them in the town and against the
648 missionary who had brought them.

Peace

727 Every time a war between Chiriguanos ends, those who got
728 the worst of it are the first to resume friendly relations. They do
it little by little, and the women are most useful for this, the
same ones who, with their tongues, contributed not inconsiderably
to promoting hostilities. The conquerers readily accept the over-
tures of peace and immediately resume visits again, during which,
if the conversation touches on the last war, the conquered avoid it,
that is, they excuse the deceit suffered through some trick, but
from time to time they must silently endure the reproaches of one or
another bold woman, who are not lacking in the towns (3).

> 3. A certain young girl, a student in the Santa Rosa Mission, reproached the captain at Ivu, who was asking for a mission in his town after having tried to kill the missionary. But I have already said that this war was directly against the whites.

701 When a war is regional because several tribes take part in it
723 under the command of a single cacique, as happened in Yaveau's
643 war /282/ against Gũiracoti, both regions try to have an equal
[704] number of foot soldiers, cavalry, and querемba; otherwise it
would be very hard for the weaker side to enter the combat.
Gũiracoti came to battle aided by the whites and men from
Parapiti, but, when he saw that he had fewer people, he fled
from *Yaveáu*, who pursued him with all his men (1).

> 1. The cacique Yaveáu in his first defeat recovered and suitably prepared for a general and decisive charge on the slopes of the range of Irenta, located one league from the Santa Rosa Mission.

/282 cont./

727 728 643 When a regional campaign has ended, the caciques involved, with the intervention of others who did not take part in the struggle, try to re-establish peace, because although the Chiriguano is rather warlike and proud, he is also just as peaceful and desirous of living quietly in his home. Hence it is quite easy for peace to be accepted by both parties, and it is sealed with a general fiesta, first in the town of the defeated cacique and then in that of the victorious cacique. All the great and important people of both regions and of the regions which have taken part in the friendly arrangements come together at these fiestas, and even then they do not turn to talk of the stormy time, except to anathematize the one who, according to them, was to blame for so much anguish; little importance is given to the words of the women (2).

[648) 2. As the Curuyuqui war was against the whites and since the latter triumphed and pursued them to the death, there could not be any party afterward, but in time friendly relations were renewed between the Indians of Ivu and Santa Rosa, and to this day they continue in perfect harmony, because they live with the help of the missionary whom the Ivu people had asked for previously.

Then each regional cacique enjoins his men not to disturb public peace again, and these in turn make speeches to their subalterns at night about the advantages of peace, and both caciques shake hands, promising to decide matters in a friendly fashion in any future disagreement which might arise between the two regions, but sometimes the opposite happens, because the victor finds it hard to yield, considers himself superior, and does not know that negotiations are preferable.

729 728 Finally, each one returns to his town satisfied, the repair of the destroyed houses is ordered immediately; the time of general planting comes, and they all report to work peacefully in order to have abundance once again and with their hopes based on being able to enjoy in time the fruit of the little sweat that falls, to their own advantage and that of their family.

/283/ ./

Explanation of the Preceding Illustration /see p. 368/

412
411
534
283
352

1. Wooden spade for work.
2. Spade handle.
3. Bull's horn for blowing.
4. Implement for stirring food.
5, 6. Chiriguano spindles.
7. Chair or seat with two spaces for children.
8. A bow for adults.
9. Arrow with iron point.
10, 11, 12. Arrows with wooden point.
13. Bow for young people.
14. Arrow with two points for hunting and fishing.
15. "Songo," or arrow with rounded point for hunting small birds.
16. Bow for boys.
17, 18. Arrows for boys.

/284/

000

Chapter Thirteen

Illnesses, Remedies, Death, and Mourning

Introduction

One moment of reflection suffices for a man to understand that there is no true happiness on earth; he who can glory in being happy in this world finds many sorrows: unsatisfied desires, unexecuted orders, unfinished projects. The careless execution of injunctions constitutes thorns for the heart of the man who could call himself blessed. He would like everything to go along as he desires, and when this does not happen he suffers, and if he does not express his suffering he suffers much more (1).

1. It is a great relief for a man to be able to communicate his sufferings to a sincere friend, but it is difficult to find such, because he who has a friend has a treasure, and the treasure is a rare thing.

/384 cont./

000 The philosopher Foción said that he who has the fewest desires to satisfy is the happiest man on earth. This is a truth based on experience, but it is not true happiness: it is part of it, because complete happiness is not attained here.

The true Chiriguano dressed in the old way and his wife with her tipoy must have been the happiest beings on earth, but as they are children of the first man, they also inherited affliction, pain, and death. These three things are almost always the consequence of illness, and they come from the intemperate life that I have described, just as they also come from the drinking and eating.

515 The Chiriguano takes no care of his person, although he
751 loves life, which he would like to be eternal, however much he
may walk dragging himself along. His foodstuffs are not at all
[262] hygienic: he eats /illustration appears here/ /385/ often and with
[252] too much greed rotten meat, vegetables, and maize itself, which
[271] he parches but never cooks completely. The water he drinks is not
always clear or free of microbes and small worms that are visible:
[273] the very chicha that is manufactured with such elaborate effort and
care is drunk still sour, and, finally, shelter is unimportant. In
periods of great heat he lies on the ground, taking on his back the
burning rays of the sun: he protects himself little in the abrupt
changes of temperature, and if he gets wet in the rain or has taken
a voluntary bath of cold water or water heated by the sun, he lets
his clothes dry on his body: from these come the illnesses that I
shall presently enumerate, illnesses that he suffers from, which
make him unhappy and then carry him to the grave.

753 The rainbow that God gave to Noah as a sign that He would
821 not flood humanity again with the waters of a new deluge is a sad
sign for the Chiriguano. If this so natural phenomenon appears in a town and begins in front of or over a house, when it disappears it does not end or turn to nothing but hides itself in the belly of one of the residents, who in time will get sick and die of dropsy, from which it follows that this illness, which is rare among them, is caused by the rainbow (1).

1. Another natural phenomenon is the whirlwind.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 385]

4s [illegible]--[illegible] M-3 (1909-1911) 1913 SF10 Chiriguano

Chavoti 326

291
516
301

Group of [illegible] Indians

/285 cont./

753 which rises continually to the sky in these
821 interminable plains, taking behind it all of
the trash that it finds along its way. It is
called Cuuumino, and, according to them,
it causes pains in the feet, knees, and bones.
When a whirlwind begins in a town, they try
to cut it with a knife.

Illnesses and Remedies

164

The most common illnesses among the Chiriguano are the
intermittent fevers that are endemic, tuberculosis or consumption,
eye disease, convulsive coughing, diarrhea, dysentery, mange
or itch, and tumors accompanied by a kind of leprosy that covers
a large part of the body. The intermittent fevers appear at the
time of the first rains and continue until the time of the fruits and
fresh maize. These fevers are not fatal, but one who is attacked
by them has a rather afflicted life. Their remedies are vegetal;
757 they boil quebracho or algarroba bark, and they drink this water,
but it does not always have a salutary effect. /286/ If a small
dose of quinine is administered during the intermittent fevers,
they immediately get well (1).

1. They get well with a small dosage, perhaps because their bodies are not accustomed to the remedies of the apothecary. Another efficacious remedy for the intermittent fevers is bitter coffee or coffee with a little sugar.

164
The itch, tumors, and leprosy do not cause death.
262 Chiriguano food is almost always saltless. They are not careful
263 in selecting it, and stinking meat does not disgust them. Their
951 water is not always clear; they bathe at any hour and, after bathing,
515 do not dry their bodies. If it rains, they let the wet clothing dry
[illegible] on their person. From this and other causes come the many skin

164 757 /286 cont./ From This and Other Causes Come The many Skin diseases which do not let them sleep. The itch is cured with saltpeter found in the dry stream beds. They call it Curuyuqui, or salt for curing the itch, but this remedy does not always produce its effect. The itch principally attacks those of few years, and [237] nursing infants catch it from their mothers. Lepers are cured very efficaciously by means of hot cow dung, and it is enough to apply it two or three times for a cure within three days without any further remedy, but they do not resign themselves easily to using this repugnant but efficacious remedy.

164 Smallpox and measles are epidemics which appear from time to time; for this reason I do not put them in the list of endemic diseases like the former ones. The Chiriguano runs from smallpox as a person with hydrophobia does from water, since through experience he knows that anyone who gets it has a hard time being saved from a horrible death. When it enters a town, it sows fear and desolation. Sick people resign themselves to death, and the healthy ones flee in terror to other tribes. It seems that it is not easy to attack smallpox directly, and up to now only vaccination has better effects (2).

797 164 2. When smallpox breaks out, the missionaries go wherever their ministry is needed, like doctors and priests. Up to now none of them has caught it, perhaps because they are vaccinated or because they have different blood.

In 1909 the town of Cuevo, which is about eight kilometers from Yvu, was decimated by smallpox. I vaccinated all the people of Yvu and those who were not residents there. But the vaccine did not take in all of them, as occasionally happens. Nevertheless, few got sick and only two died. The remedy that I administered after the initial fever had begun was rather strong wine vinegar. The sickness ran its course only in those who had not drunk the /287/ vinegar or who had not been able to retain it in the stomach. I administered one cup every six hours three times, and it was enough for this terrible illness, which would cause so many deaths in Cuevo, to pass almost unperceived in the San Buenaventura Mission (1).

1. More people became sick and died in the

/287 cont./

797
164
> Santa Rosa Mission, but the use of the vinegar, which I began to administer later, made the mortality stop.

Measles usually attacks children, as does diarrhea, and because they are very delicate it is difficult to treat them, for which reason almost all of them succumb. Lemon and vinegar are efficacious remedies for both illnesses; in many cases I have administered camomile with good results. 164 261 Diarrhea in infants comes from a scarcity of food, for then the mothers eat very hot things, such as the fruit or potato of serpentine arum, algarrobas, and other wild plants, as a result of which the infants drink the very hot milk, which damages their bellies and produces inflammation (2).

[757]
> 2. There exists near or around the lakes a herbaceous plant called pazote, and by the Indians and whites páico. A tisane made from this herb is efficacious against smallpox and measles.

Dysentery occurs in older people, and an occasional case of it shows up even in children. The cause of this illness is the very poor diet in times of want, when they eat wild roots and fruits. 164 757 Here there is a very effective remedy, which the whites call meloncillo and the Indians Ñurantimbucu. This is a thorny bush with long thorns, from which its name comes. At the time when it buds, or in the springtime, its thorns are slightly purple, and its roots are the remedy. They are boiled and the patient is given this water to drink for a week. The eye sickness attacks all, big and small, without distinction and is so bad that some [797] lose their sight completely or are left with only one eye. In the missions this is treated with white lead or lead acetate, and it suffices to apply it two or three times to bring about a complete cure.

164 The convulsive cough, or whooping cough, is another illness which attacks children up to ten years old, causing many deaths. It shows up in the cold months and even in the rainy season, sometimes [757] attacking grown-ups, among whom it does not cause death. There is in the hills a yellow flower which around here is called

/287 cont./

164 757 vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects, but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

> 1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls; at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 754 755 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case; hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

[797]

> 2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out; he has more faith in the sorcerer.

/288 cont./

Other Illnesses and Remedies

759 According to the illnesses that exist, there are doctors and medicines among the Chiriguano. The former have not gone through any university other than experience, learning from the latter to prepare medicines, not only from plants and herbs, but also from minerals and even from the excrement of animals. The doctors receive the praise of individuals who know less than they and are differentiated even by name from the evil sorcerers, who are called Mbaecuá, while the former are called Ipaye, and the medicines or drugs are called Moa.

757 The oil that is necessarily a side product of the preparation of chicha is very good for curing headaches. Salt, ground and mixed with the urine of infants, is drunk and is a good anodyne for stomach-aches. Dampness and cold produce a tightening of the nerves, which causes atrocious pain in more /289/ than one person. To cure this disorder they pull up a branch of ulala /a cactus/, Nancagüina, strip off the spines, parch it, and, when it is good and hot, apply it to the affected parts and get well. They use something else to cure dysentery. They burn yellow maize, grind it with watermelon seed, and have those attacked by the disease drink it (1).

> 1. The meloncillo /little melon/ is a remedy which the whites told me about. It is more effective, but the Chiriguano have no faith in it or do not use it out of weakness.

When a sick person suffers a pain in his side, he asks for a balled-armadillo shell, grinds it up, and drinks it. At the same time what is left is heated at the fire and applied to the pain, and it stops as if by magic. If measles comes out on the lips, the sorcerer or doctor applies a tick which has been taken off some dog's flesh, and thus it disappears. Sometimes tumors or a swelling in the throat and in the knees appear, and these are made to disappear through the application of the herb called Urucuna. It is heated at the fire in a small olla and applied. Another herb, called Yandurimbíu, is also good for this. They [164]

/289 cont./

also get sick with vomiting of blood or a hemorrhage (2).

> 2. A hemorrhage is treated by drinking every hour a mixture of equal parts of water, wine vinegar, and bee's honey. They soon get better with this remedy.

The Caaupaya is used for a stomach-ache, and root boiled soto root cures the pains produced in the feet by hot and wet ground. Guaya is a species of bejuco which is plentiful in Ivu. It is heated, applied to a swelling in the side, and cures it. Guaya root is eaten by the Indians, but if dogs eat the excrement of the Indian or the tuber itself, they die in a few minutes, which also happens to foxes. Among the Indians goiter /papero/ is not so frequent, although it exists in certain places. They say that it comes to those who sleep in the sun. They cure themselves of it with Tutía, which is a yellow fruit similar to a small apple which abounds in the pampas. Eye sickness is treated with algarrobillo bark, which they grind and then put drops of the liquid into the eye. The small caraguata cures diarrhea (3).

> 3. Incipient goiter is also cured by tying around the throat on a rag the blood of the turkey buzzard, carcancho, or bandurria. The mineral water of Ivu contains the germs of goiter.

The Cáairo is an herb one meter high. There are two types, one of which has red flowers and is used to decorate altars, and the Indians use the herb and flowers to treat the itch. It is a more /290/ effective remedy than saltpeter since it breaks out again with the latter. The kind that has yellow flowers is most abundant in Ivu and is used to treat the intermittent fever. Cáairo means bitter herb. To treat leprosy, which I have mentioned, they also use snake fat and Inái, which literally means tooth of the water. It is a little plant which grows up out of the water and is quite small. To treat whooping cough they also use an empty yellow-wasp nest, which they burn or boil in water, and, strained once, they give the lukewarm water to the sick people to drink.

/290 cont./

757 The Tingui is a large tree; with its bark tied to the belly, they cure incipient dropsy, which in their language is called Ipunga. Boiled mistol root and tapir fat cures gonorrhea. With chicken, beetle, and cicada fat they cure earaches. Only a few
752 drops need be put in. For poisoning they use wild chirimoyo root, Araticu; for snake bite the herb called ururuiu, calabash, tobacco, and its nicotine. For wounds produced by a rabid dog, they use melted wax applied to the wound. If the wound was produced by a weapon in a fight, it is treated by applying burned chicken feathers to it. Finally, if in women the uterus becomes displaced, it is put back in its place by giving the patient ground shell drunk in water.

600 These and many others are medicines that the Chiriguano use; I shall not make a list of the others because during my investigations I have come to realize that this is tied up with superstition, with which the witch doctors inoculate the sick (1).

1. It is not surprising that the Indians believe in the sorcerers, because even the whites let themselves be deceived by these impostors, who exist even among Christians.

Death and Funerals

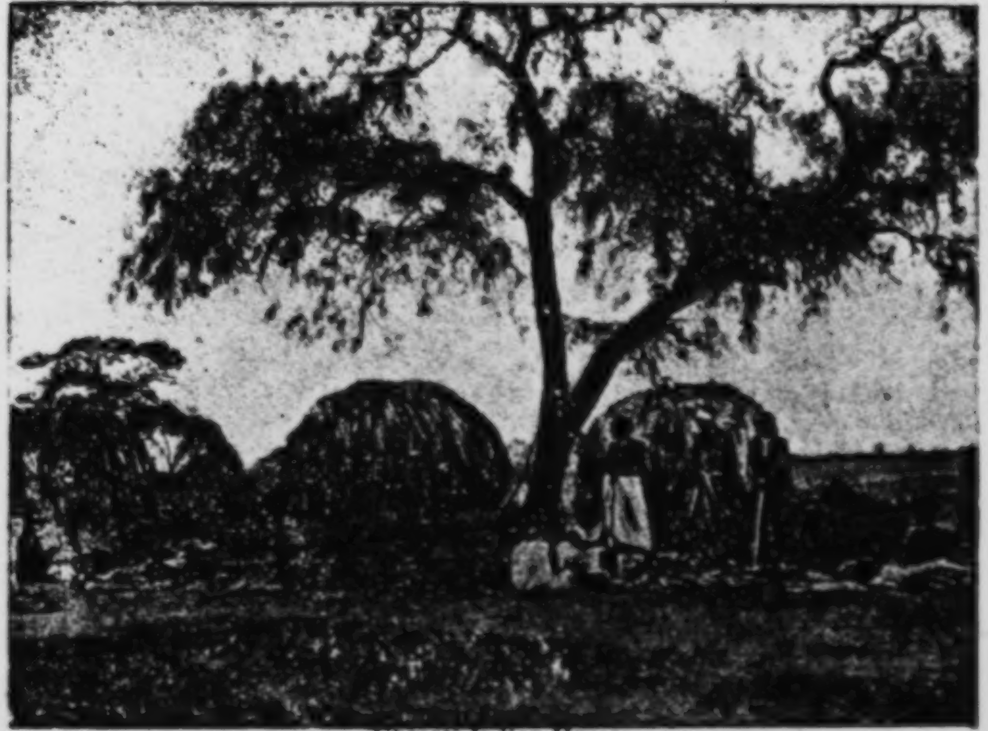
763 When a Chiriguano is fatally sick, all his nearest relatives begin to gather, and, as the illness progresses, the distant relatives, friends, and neighbors frequently pay visits, while those nearby never leave the house where death will soon reign. If the sick person is a married man, the woman is continually at the head of his bed, holding him up on her knees, stroking his vigorous hair, and caressing his face, while furtive and silent tears slide /illustration appears here/ /291/ copiously down her cheeks, almost all of which come to rest on the dying man's shoulders or chest, providing him with a palliative for his pains, because he understands the misery which his wife is feeling and the way that she and his children, if he has any, will miss him (1).

1. When the woman is past 40, she sheds real

[text continues on p. 393]

4: Nino--392 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano
Choroti SK6

342
351
361



Choroti Indian Houses

/291 cont./

763 tears, because the Indian had taken her as his wife until death, and with his death she loses everything. She will now be poor.

When the death pangs approach, the sick person enjoins them to cry as much as possible, admonitions which are made before he loses the use of speech. The said admonition is not addressed to the one who in a short time is going to be left a widow, but to the relatives and friends, because the widow already knows that she must bewail the absence of the one who was her companion (2).

[578]
[629]

2. If the dying man believes that he has been poisoned, before he loses the use of speech he charges his nearest relatives to take vengeance after the days of mourning, if the supposed enemy is known.

The death pangs come, the death rattle begins, his face pales, his nose thins, his lips and tongue become dry, his eyes turn glassy, his eyelids and eyelashes are paralyzed; the dying man begins to grab at his blankets or anything else with his hands, he looks from side to side and seems to be insensible of the objects that surround him. He is about to fade away. Then the persons around him understand how close the fatal moment is. At the impossibility of helping the one who is struggling, who is about to be inert, they begin to utter the wails which are the precursors of death.

They do not have to wait long: the dying man gives a last breath and begins to expire, until his mouth is wide open, which is observed by the widow, who gives a cry, the sign that her
764 husband has now died. Then the funeral formally begins: they dress the deceased in his best clothes, comb him very carefully, paint his face and feet with palm-Christi oil and achiote, double up the knees, put his crossed hands there, and tie him up thus, so that on the day of burial he will easily go into the clay pot that they have prepared beforehand, where they will put him when it is time to be buried.

/291 cont./

764 Now the funeral begins, which consists of crying as hard as possible, men and women, and shedding real or false tears. While they are crying they also dig the grave, /292/ which at most is two meters deep. The weeping lasts all night without rest and is accompanied by strict fasting, because so long as the deceased is visible, it would be a dishonor to take food. If there are young children in the house, they are taken by the neighbors or by some relative who takes care of them with all humanity through everything, since the unfortunate ones, when they see so much confusion, act stupid and go after the first person who shows them any tenderness. To wet their mouths and in order to cry unceasingly, those who attend the funeral, drink a little new chicha, if there is any; otherwise they are content with a little water (1).

[824] 1. Those who cannot shed tears because they do not mourn the death of the deceased put chili pepper in their eyes, and with this, which they call a medicine, the tears fall copiously.

On the next day, when the grave has already been dug, they first put the deceased in the vessel, Yambúi. They also put in a small jar of chicha, a little parched meal, a flintstone, a steel, tinder, fresh maize husk, and tobacco, a live parrot or chicken, a bow and arrow, and other things which belonged to the deceased, and they close it with another jar, and if the dead person is a nursing infant, they put in its sepulcher a small jar of the mother's milk. [775] All those things are necessary for the journey to the other life and clearly indicate that the Chiriguano have an idea, although a material one, of the immortality of the soul.

764 775 Now enclosed in the funeral urn, they lower it into the hole by means of ropes, and meanwhile the cries redouble, until it disappears below the ground. The body is placed with the face toward the east, because they all want the deceased to attain glory, the paradise which is shown by the light of the sun. Placed thus, the deceased or his soul will not always be going about in search of happiness; he will run toward the sun as iron or steel goes toward a magnet.

/292 cont./

Mourning

765 The interment over, they cry all that day, until the sun sets and night comes; then everyone goes home, only the closest relatives staying to weep. [785] [302] Fasting, already mentioned, lasts for three days, and on the first day after the burial all the women relatives cut off their hair and lay it on the grave. While cutting it off they look toward the east. The hair stays on the grave for some time, and later they take it off, and, if they burn it, it is not on the grave, but away. [826] They prefer not to burn it, however, because they would feel heat /293/ on their heads. If they notice or sense some noise coming from the hole, they heat a stone, put it on top, and the noise stops (1).

764 765 1. If the deceased is a cacique, they all weep until dawn, and afterward they meet every night for about a week.

765 They also put on the grave the tembeta, the bag, and the weapons which belonged to the deceased, such as his lance or some kind of saber, bows and arrows, so that he will not go looking for them, and when for any reason they leave the house alone, they put over the hole the pestle of the mortar, and, if this is done, the deceased will not move from his place. [775] The souls of those who have died in a bad way, for example, suicides, walk about continually, find no rest, go shouting at set hours, and are, according to what they believe, demons or their companions.

The dead person's nearest relatives sincerely grieve over the disappearance of the deceased, as the tears and sorrow shown on their faces prove. If, instead of a man, it is a woman who disappears from among the living, the widower feels the same grief; if the dead woman leaves small children, the picture that the house presents is truly heart-rending, the house where the morning sun will not find present the mother who so tenderly cared for her little ones (2).

2. The children demand to go back and they

/293 cont./

765 are allowed to when the burial is over; an aunt accompanies them, especially a maternal one if they have one, and stays in the house for a while, if she does not have children of her own.

They look for her in vain, silent and confused, and not even the tenderness of an aunt, who must swallow her own tears in silence, can distract them from their thoughts. When she hears the motherless ones looking for and asking for the one who was the author of their days, she answers the poor creatures with emotion, and even with force, that she will soon return, either from a nearby town or from the field, and meanwhile tears run down her cheeks, giving the lie to her pretended serenity. But the innocent little ones do not understand and continue with their questions, looking at the aunt dismayed and even frightened. What a sad picture!

768
587 When it is a woman who leaves her husband a widower with children, naturally in a short time he must find another wife who will serve as mother to the motherless children and take care of the house, because a man cannot attend to the things which are the domain of a woman. For a short time he can get his close relatives to attend to such things, but they soon get tired or return to the duties of their own home. Then the widower must look for another woman privately and without hurting the feelings /294/ of the neighbors, who naturally understand the distress of the widower who, if he has a mother or an unmarried sister, does not take such a step and tries to abstain from a second marriage as long as he can, but in every case before the year ends he will have found a new companion to brighten his days and make his life pleasanter (1).

768
587
593
602
855 1. The widower tries to marry a sister of the deceased or a close relative, so that she will have affection for the motherless children. When a new wife is tyrannical or is thrown out, either some other relatives of the deceased or of the widower himself take care of the children; the Chiriguano feel deeply the suffering of bereaved children.

/294 cont./

765 If it is a woman who is widowed, it is the law of the race
589 that she must observe mourning for a period of one year, without
it being permitted to shorten this period for any pretext whatso-
[302] ever. After having wept for her departed husband for a whole
day and after the burial is over, as has been said, she cuts off
her hair and deposits it on the grave, where it remains for a long
589 time, which I have not established exactly. This is the best
765 offering that a widow can make to her late husband, and whether
577 or not she loved him, it is a law which she must observe; other-
302 wise she would incur the scorn of the people of the town, who
would wonder at her conduct, she would lose her reputation,
and the relatives of the deceased would resent it very much;
they would take the children whom she loves so much away from
her, and it would be hard for her to remarry.

765 As a sign of mourning, a loving widow, as well as one who
589 is not, finds the dirtiest and most ragged piece of cloth that she
[292] has in the house and puts it on her head; she wears this during the
entire period of her widowhood. One who arrives in a Chiriguano town for the first time will wonder about this piece of apparel and ask about its significance, because there is always some woman who is wearing mourning for her husband, her son, or her brother, if it is not for her father or mother. Finally, the widow is condemned to cry day and night for one long year, and one who does not cry as she should incurs the wrath of the relatives of the dead man. When I was a missionary in Santa Rosa, the cacique Yarituś died of nothing less than malignant smallpox. The widow cried for him so much and so loudly at the beginning that very soon she became hoarse. Nonetheless, the relatives complained of her actions, accusing her of little love (2).

2. The weeping during mourning is done by the woman four times a day, at sunrise, noon, sunset, and at some time around midnight. At this last hour it is very sad.

/295/

If while asleep they sometimes dream of the dead one, very soon the widow, or whoever the dreamer is, gets up and makes a commotion, which lasts for several minutes. Also, when one

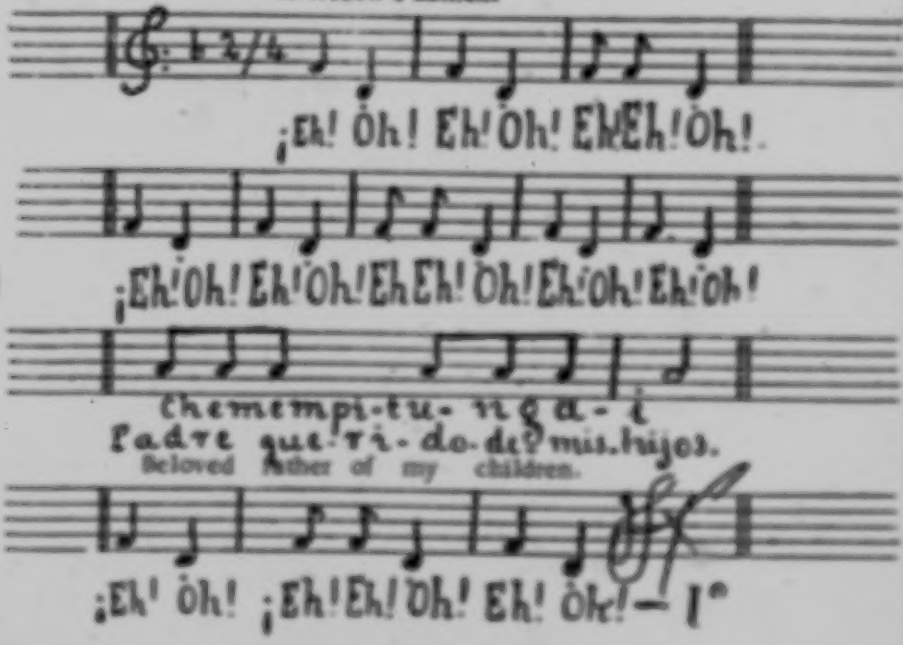
/295 cont./

765 589 of the relatives comes from afar to the house of the departed, he does not greet anyone, but asks where the grave is, goes there, and, crouching down with his face toward the wall, cries for several minutes, and, when this is over, he then greets the living and the conversation begins in subdued tones.

589 765 539 [171] The song, as well as the way of weeping for the dead, is the same in all the tribes, but there are some small differences, as happens in the language itself.

Duelo de una viuda

A widow's Lament


¡Eh! Oh! Eh! Oh! Eh! Eh! Oh!
¡Eh! Oh! Eh! Oh! Eh! Eh! Oh! Eh! Oh! Eh! Oh!
Chemempi-tu- nga- i
Padre que-ri-do-de mis hijos.
Beloved father of my children.
¡Eh! Oh! ¡Eh! Eh! Oh! Eh! Ok! — I

---

1. If the deceased is a grandchild, she says: Chinamaniso ngai! Beloved grandchild! And if it is a son or daughter: Chemempi mi ngai! Beloved son or daughter!

/296 cont./

765
589 When the year of mourning ends, the widow continues her silence until one of the relatives of the deceased visits her with all respect as a person worthy of veneration, because she has wept much and with grief for the dead; he tells her that this is now enough, that she can go out and again appear at the public drinkings, since this visit takes place two or three days before some general drinking affair. The widow makes them ask her many times and once more reflects on the virtues /297/ and greatness of the husband she has lost through death; she curses the bad sorcerers and poisons, finally consenting to stop mourning, leave the house, and take part in the coming fiesta (1).

1. During the year of mourning the widows are continually cloistered in their homes, coming out only when they have to: they go to the spring for water and to the field for food.

[302]
[301]
[292] During the year the hair has grown out at least some 20 centimeters; she then removes the rag from her head, combs her hair carefully, puts the well-known cosmetic on her face and feet, adorns her neck and arms with necklaces and bracelets, dresses in her best tipoy, and goes out with some woman friend. In this first appearance she does not take part in the dancing or singing, so that all may know that she still feels the absence of her husband, and all respect her silence. Only afterwards does her public life begin anew, like the rest, that is, she sings and dances as before.

589
581
584 A few weeks later, if someone should ask her to be his wife, she will probably consent, if she is still young and has small children, because the reader can imagine the suffering of a widow, who must seek food for herself and her little ones. Oh, how

797
777
736 often have silent tears run down my face on seeing the tears of widows and fatherless children who, for lack of food, not knowing whom to ask for aid, have come to the missionary or to one superior to them to ask for help! How could one deny it? Only a heart of bronze could have done so.

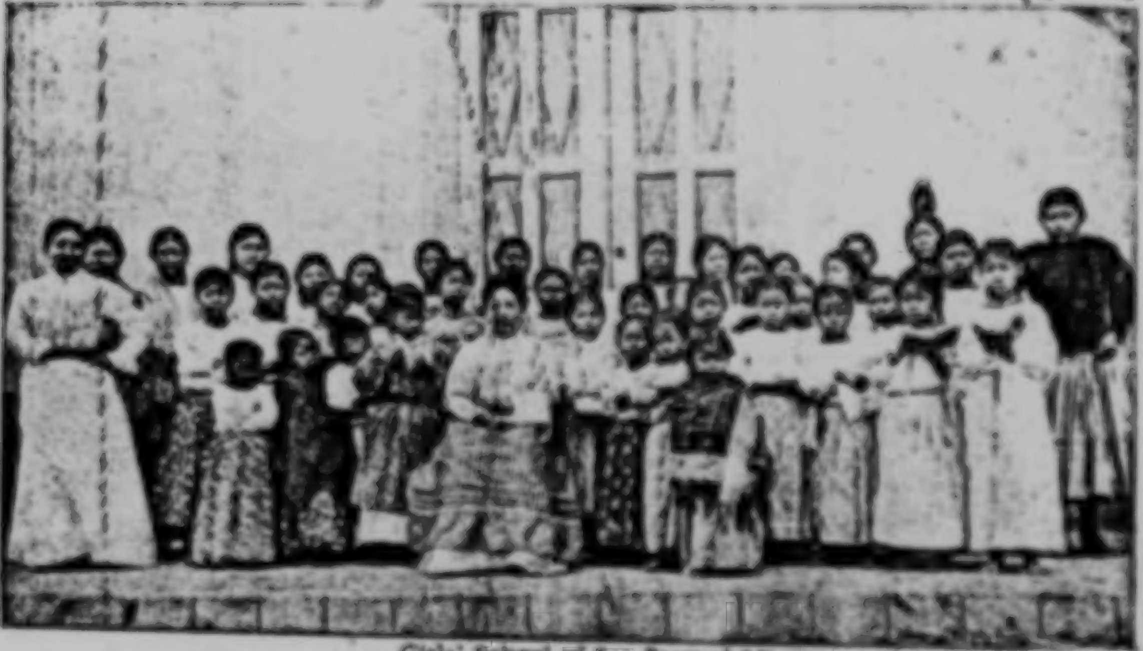
/Th con./

000 If the missionary goes into the forest and goes among the barbarians in the name of Christ, he teaches them to love him and to know him, and, like his divine Master, he is compassionate toward the afflicted and toward those who are suffering. Like Him, he does not close his ear to one who asks for charity, but divides what he has with the hungry, dresses the naked, and, when he has nothing else, at least has soothing words to console the sad. This is the life of the missionary, which, by great effort and much perspiration, is gradually transforming the places and the hearts of the inhabitants of this region, into which civilization has come through him. Oh, how the Supreme Government and the inhabitants of Bolivia should appreciate him, both of them, because of his work of moral and political civilization! But even should man not recognize this, his eternal reward will be greater (?). /Illustration appears here./

114
797

2. This work of the missionaries is greatly appreciated in Europe. Some governments exempt them from military service and give them free passage on ships and railways. This is even done by the enemies of Catholicism. The missionary of San Buenaventura de Ivu /the author/ has been exempted from military service by the Italian Government.

797
871
142
291



Girls' School of San Pascual Mission

/291/

Chapter Fourteen

Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction

797
648
The continual revolts of the Chiriguano against the white race clearly demonstrate their aversion toward the Christian element, which they consider to be the effective cause of their misfortunes and of the almost total loss of their territory, of which not too long ago they considered themselves the legitimate owners and absolute rulers. It is as clear as the midday sun that the Christian, with the patience and constancy of an anchorite and in many circumstances risking his life, has gradually taken over the extensive region. Today there is no corner where an occasional Christian family is not living. In many places the
161
464
426
648
Chiriguano tribe has completely disappeared, whether through epidemics or through loss of freedom; in some places a rather considerable nucleus exists under the control of a master, either because of the territory which it cultivates or because of a debt which has been contracted (1).

> 1. The caciques of the Curuyuqui war, in their ignorance, thought that they could recover the lost territory and, in revenge, take over most of the Republic.

797
648
(184)
The Indians located in the area to the left of the Pilcomayo River took only one thing into consideration when they resolutely refused to have a conversion mission founded: they only considered that behind the missionary would come those whom they considered invaders; they only understood that white Christians would gather behind or around the Cross, which Father Giannelli planted with considerable daring in the middle of the nineteenth century. But why is it that the Indians of Tarairí /292/ are still owners of their land? Because of the missionary, whom one faction, in its ignorance, wanted to leave when the destruction of the flourishing missions of San Francisco and San Antonio began, where six years ago building a new London was attempted, with almost

/797 cont./

797
646
nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

> 1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huacayeños, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigüipa, Machareti, Boicovo, Cuevo, and Ivo, and, finally, those of the two Parapití missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

> 2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itatiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

926
181
It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

/298 cont./

926 648 181 soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

Infidels

797 177 The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why *animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt*. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

/299 cont./

797 177 in Pipi; to free themselves from such vexations, they have been asking for a mission. There are still more of them in Caipipendi; I have spoken with them repeatedly, because they have their own land, but they are still not inclined to ask for the founding of a mission, and the reason for this is clear, they are not greatly persecuted.

Even in this case the adult proposes the bases of the agreement; he asks for freedom to follow his barbarous customs, without being obliged to receive baptism and consequently to enter the church to hear Mass and to do other things proper to Catholic worship, because his hair and the tembeta are out of place in God's house, and they feel extreme embarrassment on seeing themselves mixed in among children, young people, and whites. The advantage that religion presents is the education of the youth and the baptism of the infants, who in great quantities fly straight to heaven, because there are many who die, regenerated by holy baptism.

Provided that he does not speak to them about religion or about receiving baptism, the missionary can do what he wishes with the adult Indian. It is enough if he only shows a little foresight from the beginning regarding the way in which they must live in the mission. One who freely and spontaneously gave his name obeys in every respect, provided that effort and care are taken to suppress any disorder or disobedience immediately.

[464] [466] If he is needed for personal labor, it is not likely that he will refuse, at least in the first years, even though he be paid no wages /300/ nor given anything, since he understands that the missionary orders the construction of a building, not for speculation, but for the moral and civil progress of his children. If the missionary ordains, as is the case, that during the night they cease singing, they will comply, in spite of the fact that at times it is necessary to remind them with some sharpness, noting here that words alone are of little value.

/300 cont./

797 177 In sum, the adult Indian infidel, when carefully watched over, is quite submissive in complying with the orders of the missionary father, and even when drunk he is gentle and humble. Although it is quite true that he wishes to know nothing of religion as long as he lives, in order not to learn to pray and to comply with what religion demands, nevertheless today almost all ask for or receive baptism at the time of death. The difficulties which formerly occurred with respect to the sick who were in danger of death, which would be interminable in the telling, have now almost completely disappeared. (1)

> 1. It is more difficult to baptize old women, for it is they who advise a sick person to refuse to accept baptism, while others coax him to accept for material gain. In such cases it is very necessary to know their language.

[595] If an Indian or a cacique had two or more wives when a mission was founded, bit by bit the missionary can make him give them up until he has but one. This requires some effort, but through persuasion and threats the desired end can be obtained, because this is one of the conditions which the minister of God sets when he is asked by the Indians to establish a mission. This is what I did in San Antonio del Parapiti, and they accepted all the conditions very willingly.

761 797 177 The adult Chiriguano is not baptized while he enjoys good health; he only does it at the time of dying and when he is almost sure that he cannot live any longer. In the past it was even difficult to baptize infants, because they were convinced that baptism is the cause of death, for in their ignorance they did not understand that those who receive baptism in a serious illness died because of the gravity of the disease.

The missionary, because of his long experience, easily recognizes who is in danger of dying, and it is unlikely that he will err, because the serious illnesses of the Chiriguano are known diseases, such as dropsy, smallpox, dysentery, and consumption, to name the principal ones. He thus baptizes precisely those who cannot live, because it would be very

/301/

761 797 177 difficult afterward to make them comply with what religion requires. The result of this is that the Indian believes without foundation that baptism causes death (1).

797 762 177 1. Some of them experience so much sadness with being adult Christians that they try to take their own lives; this happens when they are half out of their minds with some dangerous illness.

797 177 When a baptized person whose life is in danger survives, it is not likely that he will comply with what religion requires, and only at the missionary's insistence is the matter finally resolved, but he enters the church secretly, seeking the corners or the sacristy, so that no one will see him, and, when there is a change of missionaries, he takes advantage of the ignorance of the one who is new to the mission so as not to attend religious ceremonies. Then what kind of Christians are these? In church they are like idiots, being almost unable to learn prayers, either because it is difficult or because they are unwilling to learn them. In church they are little different from brutes; in their houses they behave like the infidels among whom they live; they play, sing, and drink the same as the rest of them (2).

2. We should not be too astonished by the behavior of the Indian who has survived after being baptized while gravely ill, because the poor souls had never seen a church in their lives nor did they know anything about the obligations of praying to and worshiping a Supreme Being, about whom, in their unbelief, they had no exact idea and barely a remote one.

In a mission already old, all this does not happen. There are Indians with tembeta and long hair, there are old women with their tipoy who go to Mass and comply with the other obligations of the Catholic Church, but almost all are mute, that is to say, they do not utter a single word of prayer. Some will say, and I too say, that with time the opposite will be the case, but

/301 cont./

797 177 this time has hardly come, because the infidel in the Chiriguano missions does not leave followers, since his children have almost all been baptized. They are getting old and dying without being replaced.

797 763 177 Some of them are baptized in order to make the missionary
happy and in order that the family will not suffer any blame, but
several times it has happened that as a dying person who had no
thought of being made a Christian breathed his last or gave al-
most no sign of life, the relatives hastily called. Finally, others
[764] accept and profess being Christians so that the missionary will
permit or tolerate the burial of the body in their own home, and
this is the first thing that the sick person asks for after being
catechized, for which reason many difficulties are encountered.
When it is hinted to the sick person /302/ that he must repent,
he either denies completely that he is guilty before God or he
does not abhor his past actions. All of these difficulties occur at
the beginning of a mission; everything changes with the passage of
time, and there is scarcely any which is not in the end easily
overcome (1).

797 177

> 1. When a mission is founded, it is ordered that the missionary be told about sick people so that he can comply with the charity of Christ, to make them know the truth, the reward or punishment which awaits them in eternity. For just this reason he reprimands those who hide the sick. When the latter explicitly refuse to be baptized, and the missionary does not manage to convince them of the error, he leaves them. Such cases have occurred.

273 For the Indian infidel, drunkenness is a very honorable
act, an action which indicates greatness, friendship, and
benevolence, and he glories in it, saying clearly and with great
satisfaction, Asagñipo ma, I have got drunk. They say it to
anybody and appear before anybody in this state. Nevertheless,
[799] when corrected and admonished by the missionary, if they do not
hide it when he is inspecting the town, at least they avoid appear-
ing at the mission house.

/299 cont./

797
46
177

With regard to material things, the Indian in the missions has more freedom than the others outside. He does not lift a hand without being paid. He works in the construction of buildings, such as house, church, rooms for the teaching of letters, music, arts and crafts, he builds fences, and, despite the fact that all of this is for their benefit and that of their children, they are paid for it. They only have the task of planting and weeding, but in the end the missionary provides them with yokes of oxen, plowshares, and even harness, and the produce is theirs to keep or is used to buy merchandise. Thus they do nothing gratis (2).

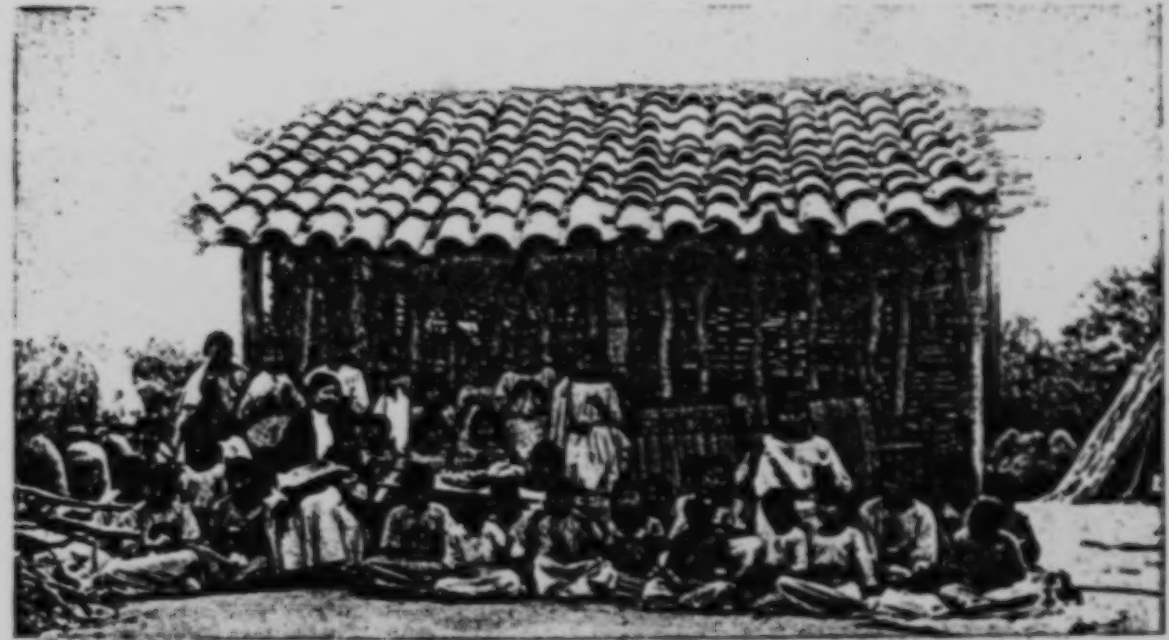
> 2. The merchandise brought by the missionaries from Tarija and other places is distributed gratis to the students and sold at warehouse cost to the older ones.

They are completely free to work in their fields or for the whites, but they must tell the missionary or the cacique. Nevertheless, they do not always comply with this. If, however, someone needs them for work and they do not feel like it, they answer either that the missionary will not let them or that they must talk with him first, but it is enough for him to intervene and request it, and the Indian will come up with all sorts of objections, and if the missionary starts to listen to them all, soon nobody will obey him. He must show himself to be firm and that he knows how to distinguish true necessities or reasons from deceptions and traps, so that he will not be fooled. In the Chiriguano missions it is almost impossible to get 20 per cent of their labor, as the mission rules require, /illustration appears here/ /300/ believing perhaps that missionaries make them work for nothing, or are making a profit out of them (1).

> 1. The 20 per cent is not obtained in any mission. Only in Parapiti do the men work half a day per week, but this is a custom imposed by the priests before the founding of the mission, because they had no funds whatever. The missionaries take advantage of this custom for plantings and buildings which are for them themselves.

4: Nino--410 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

797
871



The School of San Francisco Solano, Working in the Shade of the Hurdle or Shelter

/303 cont./

362 What the Chiriguano thinks least about is his house: it is
356 very hard to find one who makes a comfortable one. If he does
797 begin to build one, he is a long time finishing it, if indeed he ever does, and if it falls into ruins, he bothers little about repairs; when it rains, the house fills up with water and becomes a mud-hole, but he and the family are there sleeping and snoring like dormice. To make them renovate their villages, it is almost always necessary to threaten them and promise punishment and at times apply it, so that what happened in the fable of the toads will not occur.

461 The Indian is always ready to drink: if for this it is neces-
273 sary to pile up firewood and carry it from great distances, no one shirks; everyone shakes off his natural laziness with great enthusiasm. Both men and women then become quite active for ten days or two weeks, in order then to drink for six days or more, during which their faces become repugnant, both because of the cosmetics with which they think they beautify themselves and because of their state of half or total drunkenness. Then they talk of many things, and then finally some of them remember about collecting from others, and quarrels arise from this, and to stop these and also to put an end to the idleness the missionary must firmly intervene. If the Indians had a good crop of maize and the drinking bout were prohibited entirely or in part they would organize them in the fields where they plant, and then worse things would happen.

797 Chicha by itself does not cause much damage in their stomachs,
273 and they easily bear up for several days without more than a half-inebriation; the bad thing now is a scandalously widespread abuse of alcohol, which very soon intoxicates them until they are senseless and do not even know that they are alive. The missionary is vigilant in his enforcement of the rules, but it seems that they are members of a secret sect, and they tell him only when it is all over, or when they wish to avenge some grievance.

/303 cont./

Neophytes

797 177 The infidels' children, or neophytes, grow up like their parents or even worse, being different from them in having a purely /304/ materialistic civilization; on the missionary's part special care is taken in their education; their parents hand them over, or, more accurately, the missionary takes them, from the age of seven, and they surrender them without the least resistance, but if they can hide them, they make no excuses and let them grow up in the forest (1).

> 1. Nobody should be surprised if they leave something to be desired and try to hide their children, because it should be taken into consideration that it was and is a pleasure for the infidel to see his son grow up to be like him.

797 871 177 When they have entered the school, the children learn from the first letters up to writing, if they can; the more intelligent even learn music, and the most able learn masonry, tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, and tanning. The school is daily, morning and afternoon, and all of them attend from the age mentioned until they are grown up or married, which generally occurs at the age of 18 or 20. The children are absent from school only by permission, but there is never any lack of those who, when they can, mock the vigilance of the teacher, as even happens in the great centers.

The children have time to spare in which to learn reading, writing, and all that they ought to believe and practice in order to demonstrate their religious beliefs through good works. They are not ignorant of what our Holy Mother Church demands; they see the good examples of fervent Christians as well as the evils of others, and, since humanity is more inclined toward evil than toward good, the tender plants, not well grounded in the practices of Religion, can easily adhere to what is contrary to divine law

/304 cont./

799 871 197
and our Holy Mother Church (2).

> 2. The children know how to pray much better in the missions than in other centers, because in every mission there are two teaching establishments, one for boys and one for girls.

The youth grow up under the punctilious care of the missionary, who, by example and word, imbues their hearts with every goodness and love of holy and moral things, and moreover he makes them avoid, insofar as possible, all contact with the old people, managing it so that they see nothing, especially at night, not allowing them to sleep in their houses, except in case of illness and mourning, but it is not easy to avoid it altogether, because three times a day the children go down to the town to eat in their homes, and at fiesta time they are given a holiday, /305/ which they use in hunting birds or in bringing in firewood and foodstuffs (1).

> 1. The girls receive a more polished education under the uninterrupted vigilance and care of preceptoresses, who teach them, in addition to theoretical-practical religion, all the chores of their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold; the vestments and chasubles for use in the solemnities are the work of these girls.

799 197 273
What is most ruinous to young neophytes are certain whites of the neighboring cantons, whose profession it is to sell liquor and coca, which they secretly bring into the missions at times of celebration, during which even those of the race enter into the same trade, because they have seen that it is a very lucrative business.

167 593 578
In addition many of them emigrate temporarily to the Establishments of the Argentine Republic, where, with the excuse that they are going to earn a great deal with a little work, they lead too free a life, drink liquor like water, and become accustomed to drunkenness; then the first thing that they buy is an outsize

/305 cont./

167 593 578 knife: they learn to use it like the gauchos, get into fights, are injured, and even get killed, and, when they return to the mission, they only bring a little black clothing for themselves, a trifle or nothing for their wives, to whom they deliver a sovereign beating on the first chance they get, with reason or without, and then, at the first drinking bout they molest peaceful people, disturb public order, and always or nearly always it becomes necessary to bewail the spilling of blood. 167 797 Let there be added to all of this the fact that the virus of irreligion is beginning to be inoculated hereabouts, and inasmuch as they are not well grounded in the dogmas of the Catholic faith, the result is that those who do not behave like infidels or indifferent persons are Protestants on the haciendas of the Argentine Republic and Catholics in the mission.

000 There is no doubt; moral, religious, and civil progress is the work of time; it is not the work of 40 or 50 years, as some believe. How long does it take to implant social reform among civilized people? How long did it take the Church to become established in the Roman Empire? Truth fought against error for more than 300 years; she was persecuted, shut up in the catacombs, and bathed in the blood of millions of martyrs of the Catholic faith, but in the end she triumphed and raised herself, radiant, above the ruins of error which had reigned for so many centuries.

797 No effort to implant social reform is made in the missions; what is being done is to build, to uproot the Indian from the jungle, to make him come out of barbarism, and to begin to teach him to be a man, to consider himself nobler than the brute; an effort is being made to remove from him the superstition /306/ in which he was born, so that he may believe in the maxims of the true faith. What sacrifice then must it not cost the missionary, who spends the best years, or even all the years, of his life in order to realize this grandiose project without earthly recompense, but rather with the marked scorn of those who should appreciate his highly civilized work (1).

1. The Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi has been in the Potosí Missions since the year 1872; almost all the missions have been founded by him;

/306 cont./

797

> no son of Bolivia can glory in having worked as this man has for the nation which did not see his birth. If others work, they are well paid, but not the missionaries.

It has already been noted above that the children, in addition to writing, are taught music, arts, and crafts; thus, what Campos says, that the missionary is trying to make an anchorite out of the Chiriguano, is not true. It would be more than enough for the missionary if his neophytes simply practiced the Religion like faithful Christians and, like the inhabitants of the Republic, obeyed the laws of the Nation. For this reason, after having learned what they ought to do and practice and what has been said above, they help their parents with the work in the field; others lend their services to the whites by day, week, or month (2).

> 2. It would be possible here to list a pleiad of the missionaries of Tarija who have sacrificed themselves civilizing the Chiriguano; instead of thanking them, Campos' ire was raised against them. As a National Delegate, he should have done the former; in other regions the missionaries would have been decorated.

The poor missionary buried here far from the centers of civilization strains to make his town flourish, even materially; he teaches them everything he knows when time permits, tries to have them instructed in the rest outside of the missions, in the capitals. The lovely buildings, the grandiose churches, the well-organized orchestras are the work of neophytes under the immediate direction of the missionary, but what deceptions! When he least expects it, the musicians disappear one after another, the blacksmiths and other skilled workmen take flight, some temporarily and others remain in a foreign and distant land for long years, deserting wives and children. The material suffering which is experienced in the missions is bearable, but the moral suffering is not so much so; nevertheless there is resignation throughout, because God allows it to be thus, and this is

/306 cont./
797 continually shown (3).

> 3. A rest is almost imperative after a long stay in the missions, in order to refresh the spirit, because a bow which is always bent breaks, says the Evangelist St. John.

/307/ There is no traveler who does not marvel upon considering the progress of the missions, upon considering the beautiful works of the Indians, when they think that years ago there were impenetrable jungles and bare hills on the site now occupied by the grandiose temple and buildings. As was said by an enlightened Englishman, Protestant in religion, of course, the Catholic missions among the Chiriguano are like oases in the desert, and to see them at a distance stirs who knows what in the heart; even I do not know what I experience when on some journey I again approach and see them in the distance.

The Method

The method established since the beginning of the first founding of the missions cannot be improved upon, in that it looks toward moral and civil progress and has yielded practical results, especially in some missions where, despite the fact that they have been in existence only few years, almost all speak the national language moderately well. Is this not a near prodigy, achieved with a race whose language has no analogy with
080 civilized languages? /The remainder of p. 307 and the first paragraph on p. 308 are omitted. The remainder of p. 308 follows./

167
464
[797] Following the method which has been implanted, the missions progress and would progress further if the Chiriguano were not so changeable. Neither in their towns nor in the neighboring cantons is there any lack of work for them; but rather it is day laborers who are not to be found; they prefer to go far away where they may earn less than here, spending their small gains on things that are useless and harmful to them (1).

[511]

> 1. There are neophytes who stay on the haciendas

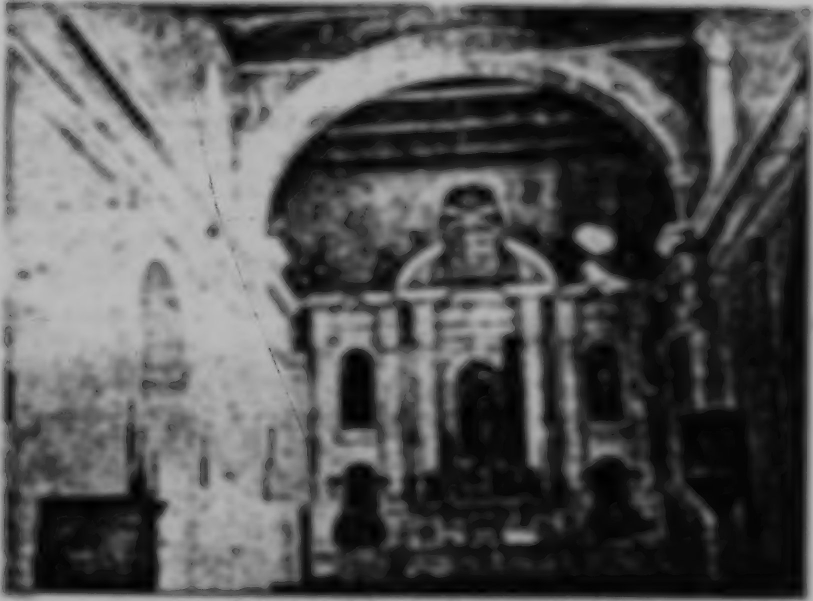
/308 cont./

> 167 464 511 of the Argentine Republic for eight or ten years: they drink it all up and when they want to come back they scarcely bring back more than a knife and a small black garment /[illegible]/, which costs little.

If one asks the reason for this procedure, so strange for them themselves, they answer that in their town they could never save up ten or 15 bolivianos, because they spend them immediately on trifles for themselves and their families, while in the Argentine Republic they keep their money in the master's house and, when they come back, buy clothing and even animals, tools, saddles, and other items. There is some truth in this, but just as it is not completely true that here their money does not last, neither is it completely true that they bring clothing and other things from Argentina. Those who are a little careful and who are not lazy do very well here, while the vice-ridden in Argentina let themselves be overcome by laziness and return as naked as they were before: they arrive, spend or waste, if they have anything, and finally go off to live as they please (2).

> 101 167 2. The Chiriguano Indians call the gauchos, or natives of Argentina, criollos /Creoles/: they apply the same name to those of their own race who settle there for many years.

777 871 191 177 The method of instruction as it is applied yields prodigious results in the girls, who, in addition to learning their letters and worship, learn in the schools the tasks proper to their sex, from spinning to embroidery in silk and gold: certain mission schools for girls, for example, the one at San Antonio del Parapiti and the one at San José de Tigüipa arouse real admiration in visitors, both because of /illustration appears here/ /309/ the handiwork which is done in them and, in the former, because of the Spanish language, which from first to last they all speak with considerable perfection, since from the beginning the language of their parents has been absolutely prohibited for them in the school, even among themselves.



Interior of the S. Pascual Church

/309 cont./

797 87 868 191 177 Should this method be followed, in a few years nobody would know that the mission Chiriguano belong to the race, because little by little the parents would teach their children the Spanish language, as I have already seen them do in the San Pascual de Boicovo Mission, and, if the morality still leaves something to be desired, later perhaps by means of preaching, the advice of the missionary, and the example of those who are good, all will be corrected. Semen est verbum Dei; it does not fall upon completely sterile ground (1).

797 177 1. The San Pascual de Boicovo Mission is so advanced in every respect that application has been made for it to be promoted to the rank of parish. In language, clothing, and behavior they differ little from the whites.

797 291 177 Almost from the beginning the schoolgirls were forbidden the use of the tipoy, being forced to dress in the same way as the women residents of the nearby towns; today they are very accustomed to the said clothing and do not change it for any reason in the world in the missions; only those girls who run away and even practically denounce their religion dress in the tipoy again, like the infidels, in order not to be recognized. By means of the teaching of the Catholic religion, the learning of the national language, and the change in clothing, the transformation is continually taking place, until little by little the distinction between the races will disappear, by means of the union of their tastes.

What the missionaries have done for the clothing of the girls, they are also doing for that of the boys, trying to make it decent. For both boys and girls, so long as they reside in the schools, the missionary of each mission provides their clothing, having it brought from some departmental capital and distributing it free of charge twice and even three times a year, or when he sees the needs of each student. In this way, after they are married, they themselves work in order to continue dressing in the same fashion or better than when they were in school, since some also wear socks /botines/ and shoes, and there are a number of women who

/309 cont./

797 291 179 in addition to the ordinary clothing, use a waist /corpiño/, hat, socks, and small rug /alfombrita/ in church (2). /Page 310 and

000

[184] [492] 2. The place where they dress most elegantly is in the missions of the Parapiti Grande, especially the women, who even have saddles for traveling and for riding about on horseback.

the first paragraph on p. 311 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 311 follows./

Conclusion

797 In conclusion, let it be noted for a final time that the Bolivian nation and people have opened to commerce and industry the broad region described in the first chapter of this work. This is due to the *Franciscan* missionaries, whose labor dates from the year 1609; they faced all the dangers; they risked their lives in the forests, in the torrential rivers, on the summits of the hills, they suffered thirst, hunger, fatigue, cold and heat, they endured with resignation the calumny and persecution of the people without conscience who never failed to make them the target of their filthy mouths and tongues.

[648] The work has been accomplished; previously nobody went among the Chiriguano without the risk of falling victim; today the entire region is one with more or less large towns, there are provincial capitals, cantons and vice-cantons; the merchant passes through the Chiriguano towns, sleeps, very highly esteemed, in their houses, and the whites themselves, scattered throughout the region, have every guarantee of safety. This is a real prodigy owing to the Religion of Jesus Christ, preached by the missionaries; it is one more proof of the fact that the Cross is constructive.

[179] /312/ It is evident that the native element is disappearing because of the causes previously enumerated during the course of these lines (1).

000

1. If the present missions remain and new ones are founded in the centers that are left today.

/312 cont./

000

> the race can endure for a longer time. The same is true, if, instead of forts, the Government, at less expense, were to found missions in the places which are being explored at the present time; useful hands would be obtained for commerce and for agriculture, without the destruction of the poor humanity.

I finish by giving thanks to the Divine Providence which has brought about here the civilization of the race, utilizing for this purpose its simple and humble subjects, such as the sons of Francis of Assisi, who came to this New World immediately after it was discovered.

To those readers who have followed me benevolently and to those who have charitably criticized my poor writing, I give my sincere thanks and at the same time pray that they will deign to pardon such errors as they might find. Laus Deo.

End of the Work

/Illustration appears here./

/313/

Appendix

121
126

The time and place do not now permit me to draw a map of the entire region that I have described in the first chapter of this ethnography; nor do they permit me to write clearly about the other tribes which populate the eastern part of the Bolivian Chaco, which has recently been explored (1).

> 1. I believed that a map was indispensable for the "Guide to the Chaco." I drew it recently, and it is soon to be published at the expense of the Supreme Government. I may perhaps get an extra run of 1,000 copies for the present work.

291

Group of Mataco Indians

4: Nino--422 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Mataco SI 7

C /313 cont./

121 122 If the Supreme Government and the friends who have helped me in this first edition continue to provide me with their considerable support, I plan to return to the region, to make better studies, to get certain data about the other tribes, to get views and panoramas with photographic cameras, and then bring out a second, more polished edition.

C 131 [114] Since, however, through my nomination as a Corresponding Member of the Geographical Society of this city of La Paz, I am making studies appropriate to this science, I shall set down in these pages the approximate geographical degree occupied by the known tribes which populate the extensive zone of the Bolivian Chaco.

The Chiriguano Indians are numerous from 18° 50' to 22° latitude south of the Paris meridian and from 65° to 66° 50' west longitude. However, small groups can be found at 17° 30' latitude and other groups at 22° 35' toward the south of present-day Yacuiba (2).

> 2. I follow the Paris meridian in placing the tribes because in the body of the work I have used the same to indicate the location of the Cayuguari Indians.

C 121 /314/ The reader who has accompanied me as far as these lines will have quite a clear idea of the Chiriguano Indians, their language, customs, and beliefs, and consequently I have nothing to add with regard to them, because this would be a repetition of what I have said. I shall say something about the others, so that Bolivians and foreigners may know the Indians with whom they are to deal.

Tapúi or Isoseños

Ce 161 131 The Tapúi Indians are as many as 2,000 between children and adults; they occupy both banks of the Parapiti River at 19° and 19° 50' latitude and 62° 30' to 65° longitude from the Paris meridian.

C
Ce /314 cont./

567 They were the slaves of the Chiriguano and formerly lived
Ce in the immediate area of the region presently occupied by the
175 city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, from where they had to emigrate
648
167 upon the arrival of the Spaniards who founded said city.

131 These Indians speak the Chiriguano language with slight
C differences in pronunciation, and they have some peculiar words,
Ce but they understand one another perfectly.

197 They are completely pacified and go continually to the
Ce haciendas of the Argentine Republic; almost all of them know
464 the Spanish language, especially the men; they dress decently
167 and help the industrialists who have settled there and who are
191 the owners of the land.

Ce In olden times the Isoseños or Tapúi were very poor and
177 lazy, but today their condition has improved because white
648 Christians from Santa Cruz have settled among them, to whom
464 they lend important services in cattle raising and agriculture,
133 but the latter is very limited because in the best season the
principal region of Isoso is flooded by the continual overflowing
of the Parapiti River.

Z
Sirácuas or [illegible]elotos

101 These human beings are called Sirácuas because they
342 open deep holes in the ground in the form of caves with a wooden
291 spatula and rest therein; they are called Empelotos because
both the men and the women go about naked.

Z Rarely do they let themselves be seen and only by chance;
101 they are few, there may be as many as 1,500; the language
161 they speak is unknown, and so they are in a completely savage
197 state.

Z /315/. Their residence is the thickest part of the woods and
131 at a short distance from Isoso between 19° to 20° latitude and
65° 50' to 64° 10' longitude.

Zamuco SK14
Tapiete SK13
Yanaiguas

/315 cont./

Z Nothing is known about the origin of these wretched
648 Indians because they run away from civilized people; nor do
721 they allow the latter to occupy the region that they inhabit,
because they kill treacherously by night or even by day, if
they are superior in number.

Z Perhaps in some distant day they can be reduced with the
221 colonization of the territory, because it is supposed that they
follow the dry course of the Parapiti River in order to be able
to live, at least in winter, when the water in the lakes dries up.

Yanaíguas or Ñanaíguas

T
174 It is not true that the Ñanaíguas are Chiriguano in origin,
197 for if this were so they would all speak something of the language.
T Those who understand it are rare, and those who speak
[464] it very rare; the latter have learned it from their dealings, not
only with the Chiriguano, but also with certain whites to whom
they have begun to lend their services.

T Their territory is located between the Parapiti River and
131 the stream of Cuevo, from 20° to 20° 32' latitude and from
65° to 65° 40' longitude.

T They are not numerous, but are quite inoffensive and
181 peaceful, for which reason it is easy to reduce them, and I do
177 not believe the day is far off. In the region of these and other
648 Indians, there are explorations going on today which will necessarily
result in intercourse and subsequent civilization, given
the peacefulness of the natives.

C The Chiriguano have given [illegible] said name to these Indians.
101 They call them Yanaíguas because they are dwellers in the
186 forest, and this is a term of contempt, because, according to
T
101 the Chiriguano, only wild animals live in the forest.

As I have said, these Indians are not like the previous
T
177 ones, who run away from civilized people; they are already
464 working with the whites, although not more than half a day,
like the Toba and Mataco, and without the tenacity of the latter.
648 They are often seen on the right bank of the Parapiti in little

Tapiete SK13
Yanaiguas
Bolivian Indians SF3
Cayuguari

T
177
464
648

/315 cont./

bands of 15 or 20 looking for water, and they do not run away on seeing some passer-by (1).

1. The region in which they have begun to lend their services to white farmers is on the right bank of the Parapiti halfway between Isoso and Parapiti cantons.

/316/ Cayuguari Indians

000

The region inhabited by these Indians is now being explored. The idea, which I can call a colossally good one which will benefit the Nation, originated with the subprefect of the Azero, Don Ramón Menduiña, who inherited the patriotic spirit of his late father, Don Antonio.

B.I.
648
464

This gentleman aroused the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the town of Carandaiti, and they responded to the desires of the subprefect with the opening of 22 leagues of road, in the construction of which were involved Indians provided by the Padre Conversor of the Macharetí Mission in May and June of 1911 (1).

B.I.
648
643
[721]

1. Recently the Supreme Government put forward as captain of the tribes of Irentagüe the nomination of the Indian Abacatu, who in years past caused much damage to the settlers of Carandaiti in company with the Cayuguari Indians; today he lends his service to the expedition in the region, which is located east of Carandaiti, but I hereby state that this region, like Carandaiti, belongs to the province of the Azero and not to that of the Gran Chaco, as has been erroneously stated in the nomination of the said native captain.

Bolivian Indians SF3
Cayuguari
Toba SI 12

/316 cont./

080 Nevertheless the expedition has been entrusted today to Lieutenant Colonel Ovando, who has got as far as Lake Picuígua, but information as to the main thing is lacking, that is, a hamlet of Cayuguari Indians, where there is a lake with permanent waters, on whose shores could be located a fort with a strong garrison.

BI 131 114 The road from Carandaiti to the central region of Cayuguari is traced in the body of this work; the geographic degree that it occupies is more or less indicated on General don José Manuel Pando's map, as well as the nature and character of the Indians, and so it is not necessary to repeat it in these lines.

BI 648 721 181 It is appropriate that explorers should go and present themselves in a peaceful manner to these warlike Indians, and also that they go prepared for any attack, because these Indians have the bravery of the Chiriguano and the perfidy of the Toba.

000 The founding of a conversion mission is more important in this region than in other places, in order to form a population nucleus and to reduce with gentleness these dwellers of the forest.

Ta 131 The tribe of Toba Indians is rather numerous; it inhabits the left bank of the Pilcomayo River from 21° 34' latitude to the southeast and at 65° 39' longitude.

/317/

Tobas

The tribe of Toba Indians is adjacent on the west to the Chiriguano race, to which it is completely related. These Indians lend considerable service to white Christians and consequently to the few inhabitants of Villa Montes; rarely do they cross to the right bank of the river, which belongs to the Matacos or Noctenes, as has been said in another place.

Ta 302 [147] The Toba Indian is very robust, and the woman the same; both wear their hair short and paint the entire body, especially when they are marching off to war. Some of the men and almost all the women paint their faces down to the throat in an indelible manner.

Toba SI 12

/317 cont./

304 With a thorn, tough straw, or a needle, they scratch their skin, making various designs on it, and then spread ashes, ground charcoal, or the juice of some special roots over same and let it dry for several days, until it has penetrated well below the surface of the epidermis; then they take their bath, wash their faces, the spots disappear and the designs remain in a
[171] stable fashion. In this regard they imitate the Turks, with whom they certainly are not acquainted.

301 304 Another distinctive mark of the Toba race is their pierced ears, in which they place two pieces of wood to serve as earrings. These pieces are so heavy and so thick that in time they spread and stretch the ear lobe until it touches the shoulders, for which reason those who wear the said earrings are much more repugnant.

301 304 177 178 But as they now have a great deal of contact with whites, they are abandoning this distinctive trait, as well as the first-mentioned one, just as the Chiriguano tembeta is also disappearing. The tribes that have remained isolated from intercourse with the whites and the Chiriguano, however, for the most part continue both distinctive traits, and the men go about almost completely naked.

181 In not too distant times the Toba was very ferocious, but today he has somewhat modified his ferocity; nevertheless his haughtiness and treachery are still part of his very being, and it is never advisable to trust this hardy inhabitant of the forest.

648 The white man who deals with him must always be prepared, treat him as an inferior, combine gentleness with moderate firmness, pay for his labor without being too liberal, and not resort to violent methods when at midday he casts aside the implement with which he has been performing his task.

721 648 /318/ Colonel Rivas [illegible] the explorer Creveaux perished on their expeditions because they were too trusting. The latter, too kind, committed the error of disembarking in a Toba camp, his people left their weapons in the boats, and in the attack that the Indians made only one was saved to carry the fatal news to a suitable place.

Toba SI12
Aymara SF5

Ta 593 152 684 834 /318 cont./

The Toba is jealous of his wife and she of her husband; neither of them allows any slips of this sort; should such a thing happen, revenge is certain; the boy or girl may easily die poisoned; as far as girls are concerned, they are rather free before marriage.

Ta 581 584 But should the latter be inclined to contract matrimony,
the young Toba must merit her hand; it is necessary that he
be an able hunter, a valiant warrior, and he loses many nights'
sleep playing the "pimpin" in front of the girl's house. If her
Ta 584 parents form a good opinion of the suitor, they promptly hand her
over to him without further preliminaries; otherwise he can
resign himself to seeking another girl.

Ta 721 648 Toba attacks on the houses of whites are frequent, and they steal whatever they can, killing the older men and taking captive the women, boys, and maidens, not so much for their own use as to profit from ransom.

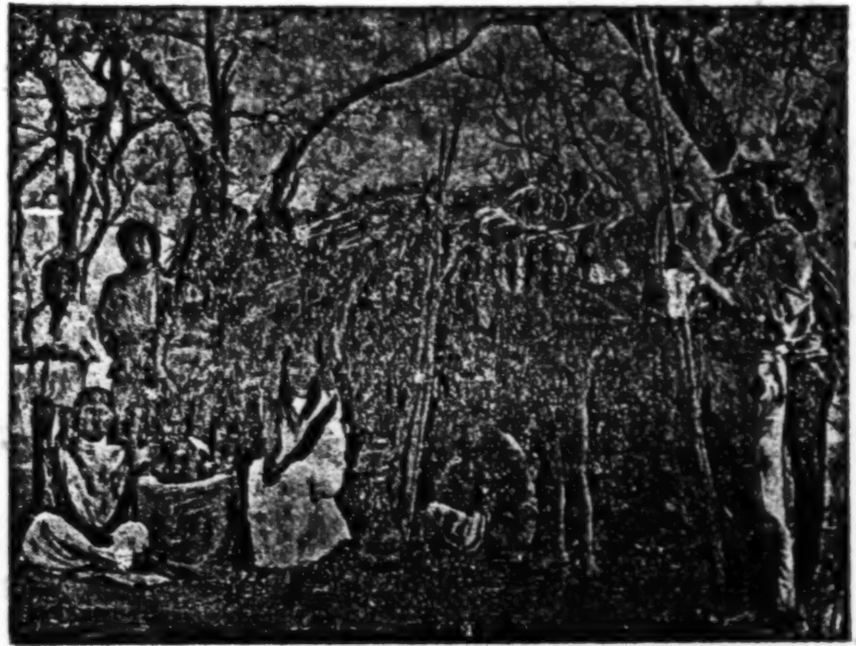
Ta [492] [262] But in general these attacks are for stealing cattle, horses, and mules, the first to eat and the latter for riding, since the Toba is a great horseman and he has need of other people's mounts for his wars and attacks.

Ta 492 They do not use saddles or bridles, and they guide the horses with slaps of the hand; if they are pursued, they run like the wind, on the animal's back, on the side, or even with their bodies under the steed's belly to avoid a sure shot. In horsemanship they are superior to all the other tribes, including the Chiriguano tribe, which they nonetheless respect.

Ta 732 734 They kill their defective children, and, as a philanthropical act, those who are sick with prolonged illnesses and the old who are fatally ill are buried alive so that they may not suffer so much (1). /Illustration appears here./

A 732 764 1. This is not strange if one considers that the Aimaráes /Aymara/ of the altiplano strangle the dying for hygienic reasons, so that they will not smell bad when they move them to the public cemetery which is very far away.

291
516



Group of Toba Indians

4: Nino--430 M-3 (1898-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Toba SF 12

Mataco SI 7
Toba SI 12

/319/

Matacos or Noctenes

M 131 648 This tribe is also very numerous: it lives on the right bank of the Pilcomayo River, occupying the part opposite the zone occupied by the Toba, with whom they maintain friendly relations which are disturbed from time to time, especially at the time when the algarrobas and other fruits ripen.

M 797 177 A group of these Indians in times past formed a part of the San Antonio del Pilcomayo Mission, where today the Chaco Delegation is located, occupying the mission buildings. But because they are as fickle, or perhaps more so, than the Toba, Religion and the State could make little progress with such Indians.

M 131 197 648 T 186 These Indians are very numerous and in small groups extend as far as the shores of the Bermejo; their language is totally different from that of the other tribes and they hardly mix, although they maintain friendly relations with the Toba, to whom they are considered to be inferior.

M 181 578 273 Their physiognomy is overly languid; sadness can be read in their faces, and they are very miserable; nevertheless they are ferocious in war, in jealousy, or in a state of drunkenness; they injure and kill one another. Out of these considerations the women refrain from drinking to the state of inebriation in order to prevent their husbands' disorders and to hide the weapons in the event of the outbreaks which frequently occur (1).

M 273 [171] M [243] 1. In the drinking bouts they are the same as the Toba; they make a mead from the fruits of the algarroba, which is almost as intoxicating as brandy; they also make mead from other wild fruits; they do not make chicha because they hardly plant maize.

M 181 721 648 They are more peaceful Indians than the Toba, are not very warlike, and do not attack the houses of the whites but profit when they can from the latter's cattle, especially should a famine break out due to a lack of wild fruits.

/319 cont./

433 They do not work, plant, or do anything similar; they
222 are but mediocre fishermen and barely hunters. To live they
241 lay up great stocks of chañar, algarrobas, and mistol fruits, and
with some gourd seeds placed under the earth they have
extraordinary harvests if the year is moderately rainy.

786 They organize their orgies when the algarrobas, chañar,
578 and mistol are in season, and then the quarrels and murders occur
682 among the men; these crimes go unpunished by the authorities,
for there are none. But if the one who has perished had relatives they will take revenge.

342 /320/ They do not bother to build houses or such things.
513 They make a kind of oven; for it they bend some branches of
small trees, fix them to the ground, cover these branches with
straw or grass, and they sleep underneath in a pile in the company of their dogs.

164 This is the reason for the excessive mange which kills
515 them and makes them look so disgusting, since they are not at
all partisans of the daily bath, as the Chiriguano are, and when
they do bathe, they roll about in the river sand or in the ashes
of their oven-houses.

584 They do not seek the consent of their parents for marriage
585 nor do they have ceremonies. Do two young persons, a man
and a woman, love each other? They leave the common settlement, go to the woods, stay a few weeks, and then return,
now married, to live with their in-laws or to make another
oven like the one of their elders.

586 Young people divorce each other easily, but they are
152 more constant than the Chiriguano in married life. Nonetheless,
837 the women are very jealous and do not readily consent to their
593 husbands' being with other women; for this reason they keep
them content with the work of bringing them much fruit from
the forest and caressing them.

302 Men and women cut their hair; some of them stain their
301 faces and pierce their ear lobs, in which they put a piece of
wood, like the Toba, but this is not a distinctive mark of the
race.

Mataco SI7
Choroti SK6

M /320 cont./

771 They have a vague idea of superior beings, whom they fear
776 without worshiping them; the cleverest one becomes the sorcerer
756 and exploits the poverty of his companions, especially today when
648 they are earning money from the whites, to whom they lend im-
464 portant services.

M They frequently move from the region that they occupy to
169 the Argentine Republic; they work, dress, learn some Spanish
177 and a slight smattering of civilization, and return to their lands
to live as before.

Choroti

Ci
131 The zone located southeast of Toba territory is occupied
197 by the Choroti Indians, who have their own language. They
occupy the geographic degree 22° 30' latitude and 64° 10'
longitude, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River.

Ci They are quite numerous and peaceful, and they are not
181 treacherous like their neighbors, the Toba. Nevertheless, they
648 inspire respect in all the neighboring tribes; if a mission were to
be established at said degree, the conquest of all the Bolivian
territory /321/ up to 20° would be accomplished without the
need of so many small forts, which are such a great expense to
the Nation and which do not create centers of trade and civilization.

Ci Father Gianelli in years past visited the Choroti Indians,
797 was received with displays of affection and appreciation, and
197 found among them good inclinations toward becoming civilized,
but at that time the harvest was too much for so few evangelical workers.

Ci The Choroti are not so lazy and savage as the other tribes;
181 they devote themselves to the cultivation of a few seeds and to
241 the raising of cattle, although on a small scale. They are also
231 hunters, however, and when they occupy the banks of the
224 Pilcomayo, they take advantage of the fruits the river brings
them, especially in the great floods.

Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Güisnais

Ci /321 cont./

301 Doubtless through being very close to the Toba, they
302 pierce their ear lobes, in which they put pieces of wood, and
171 they also stain their faces.

Ci In the expeditions to the Paraguay they have never shown
648 themselves to be hostile to the whites and soldiers; rather they
[464] have lent important services and it was they who saved the life
of Señor Touvar and his companions when they became separated
from the expedition. Therefore the reduction of these Indians
to civilized life would be very profitable.

Güisnáis

M
131 These Indians occupy the western bank of the Pilcomayo
101 facing the Choroti Indians and southwest of the region occupied
by the Mataco. The geographic degree of their territory, with
a very slight difference, is the same as that of the Choroti,
since they are separated from the latter only by the river bed.

M They are a division of the Mataco; they speak the latter's
101 language with very little difference; their customs are nearly
181 identical and their number quite small. They are of a peaceful
241 nature like the Choroti, and like them, they plant gourds and
231 other vegetables. They also devote themselves to the raising of
197 domestic animals, such as cows, horses, sheep, goats, and
chickens.

M Even the Güisnáis frequently come out for jobs in the
167 Argentine Republic, from where they also bring back weapons,
177 in order to use them particularly in the woods, killing birds, wild
464 boars, deer, and other quadrupeds.
224

M They have more religious ideas than other tribes, and it
174 seems that their great-grandparents might have belonged to
771 some former Argentine mission, because, more than others, they
776 recognize a true divinity. /322/ Nonetheless in their great
[756] ignorance they confuse ideas, and in great fear they recognize in
sorcerers a power that they do not have.

/322 cont./

648 The tribes described here are friends and allies of the
464 Chiriguano, and, when the latter have an abundant crop of
466 maize, the former draw near to the towns of their friends; according to tribes, they build their ovens, where they hide, along the bank of some rivulet or some stream.

They remain there, help the Chiriguano in the harvest, perform menial services for him by carrying wood, cleaning house, and doing other domestic chores, and in exchange they get a little maize for themselves and their family. When they go back into the forest, they take several libras or arrobas of maize, depending on the harvests that the Chiriguano may have had.

In the Tarija missions this happens quite frequently, because they are nearer to their territory. The caciques of the savages then present themselves to the Chiriguano cacique to announce their arrival and the presence of their tribe and the latter in turn brings him before the P. /padre/ Conversor to obtain the necessary permission.

In these circumstances none of the tribes is lazy, because they understand that in order to eat it is necessary to work, under penalty of being immediately thrown out of the foreign territory where he has found so much abundance. Neither are they permitted many months' stay, because they are capable of staying until they use up all the maize and leave the Chiriguano's cupboard bare.

Several times I saw these tribes in a state of temporary emigration, and it was pitiful to see such poverty, forlorness, filthiness, ignorance, and want. Long rows of ovens could be seen in communication with one another, full of men, women, children, and dogs, and living there worse off than dirty animals in filth.

4: Nino--436 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano

Tapiete SK13

/322 cont./

Tapiete (1)

797 101 1. With the persuasive word of the Catholic missionary they could serve as an intermediary element between the Toba and Tapiete /sic/, to whom they are adjacent on the west and southeast, respectively.

648 These natives have caused several casualties among the soldiers of the Bolivian forts and lately also among the Argentinian, which indicates that one should not have much trust in them, especially when it is foreseen that they are plotting some revenge.

131 The Tapiete tribe is more numerous than its neighbors, the Choroti; it occupies the same left bank of the Pilcomayo River /323/ from 22° 55' latitude until it enters the territory claimed by the Republic of Paraguay and from 63° 10' eastward.

174 They have been settled there since time immemorial, when the Chiriguano emigrated from Paraguay; as a result, then, they were Chiriguano in origin; this is shown by their language, their inclination to work, their fondness for planting, their customs, and the place they chose.

291 Because they are so isolated from the civilized centers, they have acquired savage customs and at the present time use very simple clothing, scarcely covering the most delicate part of the body, and formerly they did not do this, at least the men.

197 648 The language that they speak is Chiriguano, but there are differences in words and pronunciation because of the intercourse that they have had with the Toba, Mataco, and Choroti, with whom, however, they do not mix and even have hostilities on no few occasions.

648 Those Indians have several times destroyed Bolivian forts and killed soldiers, but the aim that they had and will have is to flee from the white man, whom they judge to be an invader; I believe that a Conversion Mission would yield good results among them, since they do not hate the white man systematically.

T /323 cont./

433 648 169 They devote themselves to planting, hunting, fishing, and raising livestock; they rarely go en masse to Chiriguano towns and even more rarely to those of the whites, to which they do little damage.

Miscellany

C 824 757 In the section "Flora" in Etnografía Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ethnography/ I described the passion flower of the Chaco region of Bolivia, which is called granadilla de monte /wild passion flower/ there. Its roots are medicinal and those with pretenses of being doctors there employ them to cure tapeworm.

There is a small tree called "Naranti mbucu," long thorn, by the Chiriguano, and meloncillo /small melon/ by the whites of Santa Cruz. It grows three or four meters high at most; when it blooms, its tips are a quite light purple; its roots are put on to boil for a period of one and a half hours, and the clarified water is an effective remedy for treating dysentery.

C 122 The Franciscan school /colegio/ at Potosí, the Reverend Father Prefect of Missions, and the Padres Conversores of the same school deferred to my suggestion that they /324/ help me in publishing the Etnografía Chiriguana, for which I thank each and every one of them from the bottom of my heart.

I extend in these pages the same thanks to a group of gentlemen from the city of Sucre, who, encouraged by Doctor Don Tomás Arana, assisted in the publication with a subscription of ten bolivianos per copy.

Finally, special thanks have been earned by two young ladies from the city of Sucre and another from the city of Oruro, who, through special deference to the author, have favored him with extraordinary alms, without imposing upon him any obligation whatsoever.

/324 cont./

127 Some of the lithographs for Etnografía Chiriguana have
128 been reproduced from the Anthropologie Bolivienne of Doctor Arthur Chervin, as well as others from the work of Señor del Campano, and the rest from photographs which I was able to get from some amateur photographers among the Franciscans.

Some of those of the first-named author and all of those of the second were reproduced from the album which is kept in the Potosí missions and in the Franciscan Colegio de Tarija.

viii If the author of the Etnografía had had the necessary time available and had been able to rely upon a collaborator, it would have been easy, most easy, to have reproduced with photographic apparatus important scenes, beautiful landscapes, enchanting panoramas, high and thick palm groves, immense beaches on great rivers, and other innumerable beauties which exist in the region. In a second edition all this could be done, if the Supreme Government would make available the necessary funds so that a scientific tour might be made through the entire region in the company of a photographer.

/325/ Table of Contents Page

Homage 1
Approbation of the work /omitted in the translation/
Author's acknowledgement to the Supreme Government of Bolivia 1
Dedication /omitted in the translation/
Introduction 4
Word to the reader 5
Foreword by Don Manuel V. Ballivián 7

/325 cont./

Chapter One
Description

000

Introduction 13
General view 14
Extent and area 16
Hills and mountains 18
Rivers and lakes 20
Climate 26
Fertility 28
Flora 31
Fauna 50
Quadrupeds 50
Reptiles, amphibians, fish, and insects 65
Birds 74

Chapter Two
Origin, Language, Statistics

Introduction /translated in part/ 95
Origin 96
Language 110

/326/

Statistics 112
The first missionaries among the Chiriguano and a precious discovery /translated in part/ 116
Missions of the Colegio de Potosí 121
Cuevo /translated in part/ 131
Ibo Canton 132
A project /translated in part/ 133
Cayuguari /translated in part/ 134
Itatiqui /translated in part/ 135
Missions of the Colegio de Tarija 137
Yacuiba /translated in part/ 146

/326 cont./

Chapter Three

000

Characteristics of the Chiriguano

Introduction	149
Physique	150
Life span	154
Morality	156
Difficulties in reducing them	160
Vices and their consequences	162
Suicide	164
Boxing and dueling	166
Love for the home	168
Aptitudes	171
Philanthropy	172

Chapter Four

Religion, Divinities, and Beliefs

Introduction--An illustrious Franciscan /omitted in the translation/	
Religion	174
Divinities	176
Fabulous beliefs about the Flood	179
Beliefs in the spirits	182
Beliefs relative to creation	185
Belief in the future life	190
Prayers	195
/327/	
Genii	197
Sorcerers	199
Sorceress curers	206
Way to obtain the poison	207
Lunar eclipse	210

/327 cont./

Chapter Five

Political Organization and Authorities

Introduction /translated in part/ 213
Principle of authority 215
Attributes of the cacique 216
Subalterns 221
Abuse of authority 222
Separation from command 223
Regional cacique 226

Chapter Six

Towns, Houses, and Work

Introduction /translated in part/ 229
Towns 231
Modern houses 233
Ancient houses 239
Fire 243
Work--Cleanliness 244
Cots and seats 246
Matés 248
Pottery 249
Textiles 253

Chapter Seven

Chiriguano Clothing and Adornments

Introduction /translated in part/ 254
Clothing 256
Gala dress 260
Conveniences 263
Adornments /translated in part/ 265
Explanation of the preceding illustration 273

/328/ ./

Chapter Eight

The Chiriguano Family

Introduction /translated in part/	274
Family /translated in part/	274
Method of contracting a marriage	280
Life and tasks during marriage	282
Pregnancy and birth	284
Infant care	287
Twins	288
Joy and grief	289
Deformed children	291

Chapter Nine

Children, Puberty, the *Tembeta*

Introduction	293
Education of children /translated in part/	296
School of arms and strategy	297
Private life	300
The giving of the name and puberty	301
Imposition of the *tembeta*	309
The *tembeta* in other tribes	315
A legendary tale	317

Chapter Ten

Agriculture, Animals, Food

Introduction /translated in part/	320
Property rights	322
Old method of farming	325
Modern farming and seeds	327
Use of the ripe produce	332
Cangũi, *chicha*	335
Hunters	339
Animals	340
Other comestibles	341

/328 cont./

000

Chapter Eleven

Fiestas, Songs, the Carnival

Introduction /translated in part/ 344
Before the fiesta 346
The fiesta 350
/329/
Dance and song 352
Music of the *Ayarise* 353
Mbapa páure 355
Music of the *Mbapa páure* 356
Hospitality 359
Carnival 362
Easter 366
Music of the Alleluia and song 367

Chapter Twelve

Offensive and Defensive War

Introduction /translated in part/ 367
Offensive war and weapons 371
March and inspection 373
Combat and pillaging 375
After the victory 376
Defensive warfare 378
Peace 380
Explanation of the preceding illustration 382

Chapter Thirteen

Illnesses, Remedies, Death, and Mourning

Introduction 382
Illnesses and Remedies 385
Other Illnesses and Remedies 389
Death and Funerals 391
Mourning 395
The Mourning of a Widow 397

/329 cont./

Chapter Fourteen
Infidels and Neophytes of the Missions

Introduction 402
Infidels 404
Neophytes 412
Method /translated in part/ 416
Conclusion 420

/330/

Appendix

Tapúi or Isoseños 423
Sirácuas or Empelotos 424
Yanaíguas or Ñanaíguas 425
Cayuguari Indians 426
Tobas 427
Matacos or Noctenes 431
Chorotis 433
Güisnáis 434
Tapietes 436
Miscellany 437

/331/

List of Illustrations

Portrait of the Most Excellent Doctor don Eliodoro Villazón /omitted in the translation/
Image of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception /omitted in the translation/
Portrait of don Julio La-Faye, Ex-Minister and Brigadier General /omitted in the translation/
Group of Chiriguano men and women at work (Igüembe) 12
View of the Parapiti River from the San Antonio Mission 22
Papaya tree with its fruits 42
Group of Tapietes, Indians of the Chaco, who live on the Esteros del P. Patiños 52

/331 cont./

000 Group of children and vegetable wealth 63
Picture of the Yandúgua 77
View of a palm grove in Salinas de Cuevo 85
Sugar Mill at San Antonio Parapiti Mission 94
Tapiete man 104
Tapiete woman 117
View of the Santa Rosa Mission 127
Violin band of Tarairi 140
Group of Chiriguano women in gala dress, from the San Pascual Mission 148
Boys' school of the Ivu Mission 155
Archbishop Pifferi, Missionaries, and Priests /omitted in the translation/
Girls' school of the Ivu Mission 187
Musical Band of the Santa Rosa Mission 198
View of the Mission of San Antonio del Parapiti 209
Group of caciques of the Ivu Mission 214
Girls' school of the Parapiti (San Antonio) Mission 220
Chiriguano town 230
/332/
Modern Chiriguano house 234
Ancient Chiriguano house 242
Cacique Güiraésa with his family 255
Chiriguana gala dress and saddle 259
Chiriguano adornments 266
Education of neophytes through work /not listed in the original source/ 278
Musical Band of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission 294
View of the Mission of San Pascual de Boicovo 305
Group of Chiriguano Indians with their work tools (from the San Pascual Mission) 321
Exterior of the children's school of the Mission of San Pascual de Boicovo 338
Interior of the girls' school of the Mission of San Pascual de Boicovo 345
Music of the Ayarise /omitted in the original source/

/332 cont./

000 Music of the Mbapa Páure /omitted in the original source/
Chiriguano carnival 361
Music of the Alleluia /omitted in the original source/
Bows, arrows, etc. 368
Group of Choroti Indians 384
Choroti Indian houses 392
Girls' school of the San Pascual Mission 401
Schoolgirls at work (San Francisco del Parapiti) 410
Interior of the San Pascual Church 418
Group of Mataco Indians 422
Group of Toba Indians 430

/The corrections in the list on p. 333 have been made in the text of the translation. Page 333 continues with the following note concerning the end map./

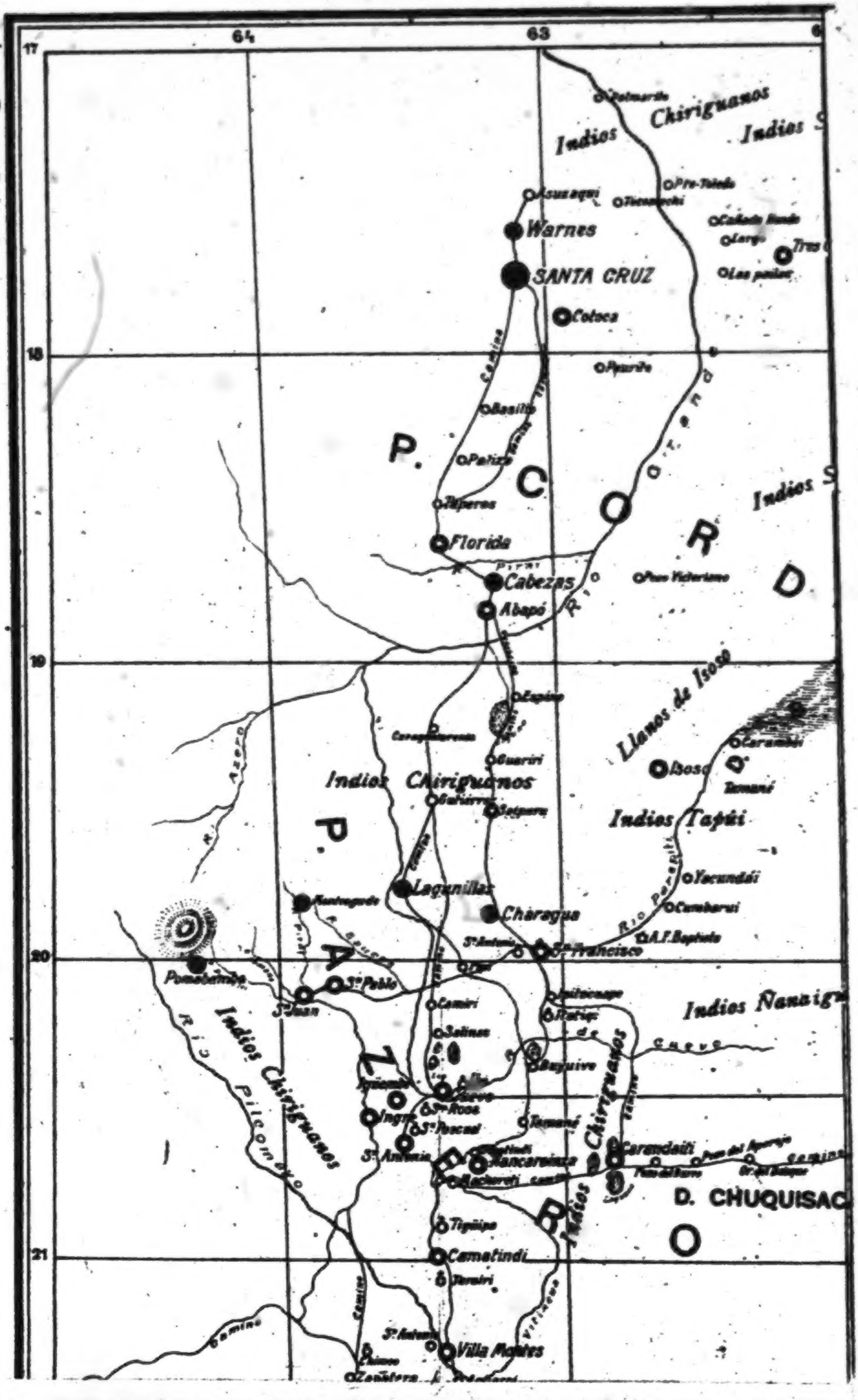
101 Note: The map which is found at the end of the work con-
102 tains the following errors: (1) the juntas of San Antonio should
103 be of San Francisco; (2) the line which comes out of Cuevo
131 toward the Azero River is not a river, but a dividing line between
133 Santa Cruz and Sucre; (3) the missions of the Parapiti occupy
361 the left bank of said river; (4) Ino occupies the right bank of the
797 Cuevo River; (5) the projected city of Manso should be near the
bank of the Pilcomayo River.

4: Nino--447 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

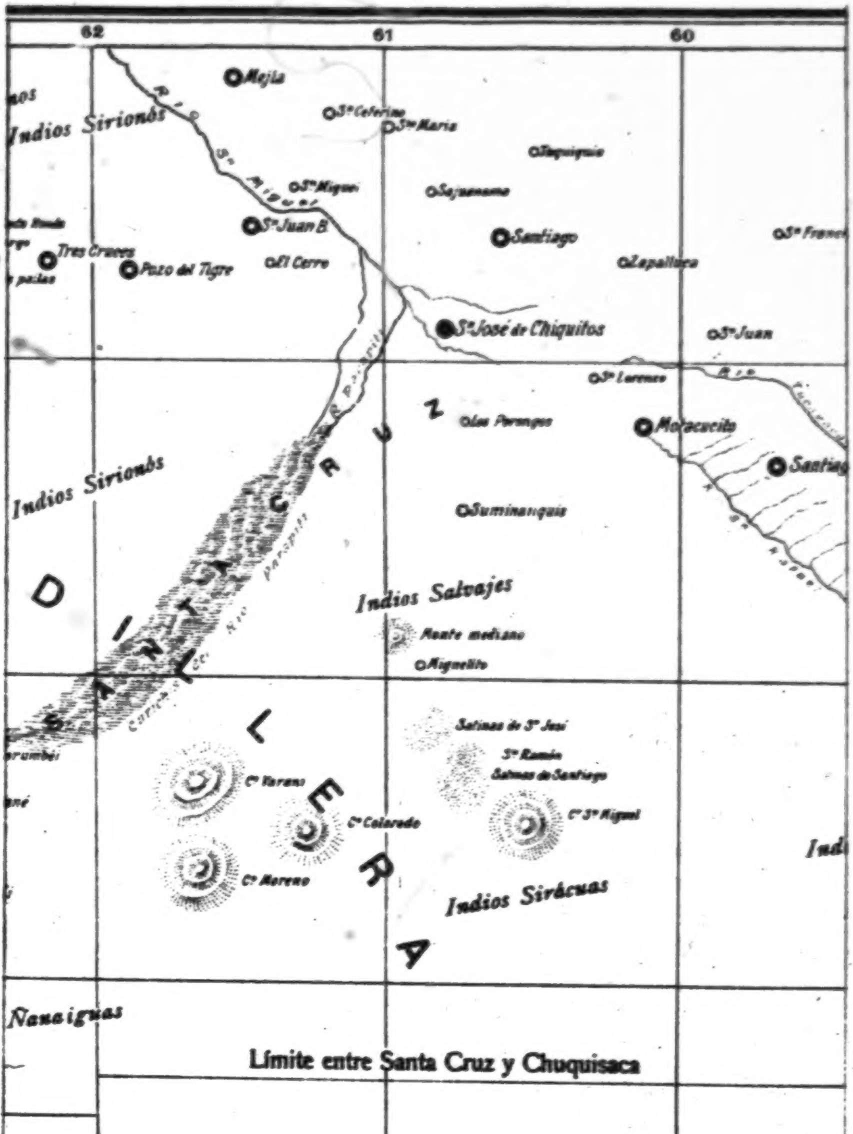
Map of the Gran Chaco

by Father Bernardino de Nino

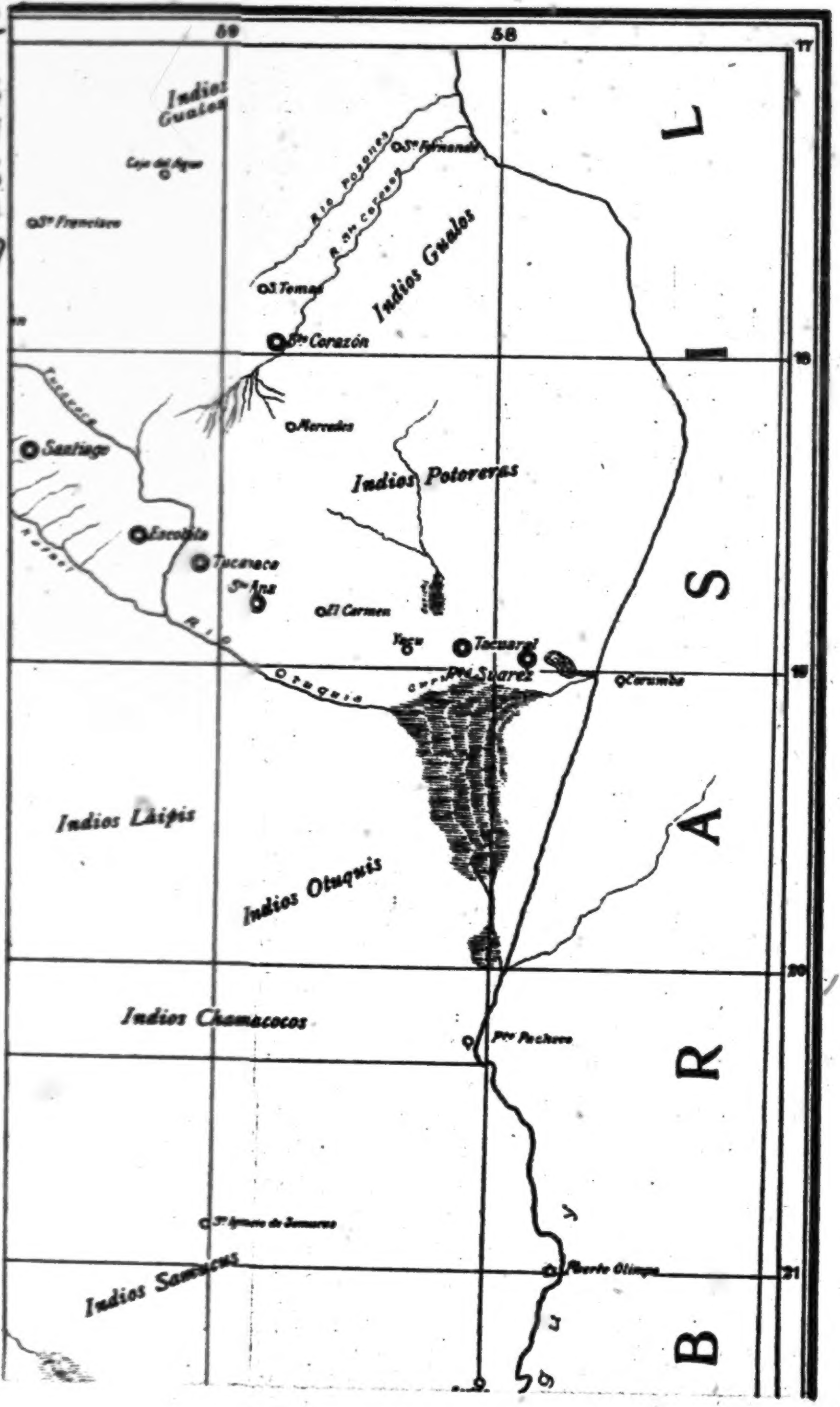
102
101
103
131
133
361
797


64
63
17
18
19
20
21
Indios Chiriguanos
Indios
Palmarito
Asusaqui
Warnes
SANTA CRUZ
Cotoca
Florida
Cabezas
Abapó
P.
C
O
R
D
Llanos de Isoso
Isoso
Indios Tapüi
Indios Chiriguanos
P.
A
Z
Lagunillas
Chàragua
S.n Francisco
S.n Antonio
S.n Pablo
S.n Juan
Pomabamba
Camiri
Saipurú
Indios Chiriguanos
Rio Pilcomayo
Indios Ñanaigua
Ingre
S.n Pascual
S.n Antonio
Macharetí
Ñancaroinza
Carandaiti
Indios Chiriguanos
D. CHUQUISAC
O
Tigüipa
Caiza
Camatindi
Villa Montes
S.n Antonio
Camino
Rio Parapiti
Yacundai
Cambarui
Boyuive
Tamané
R
O

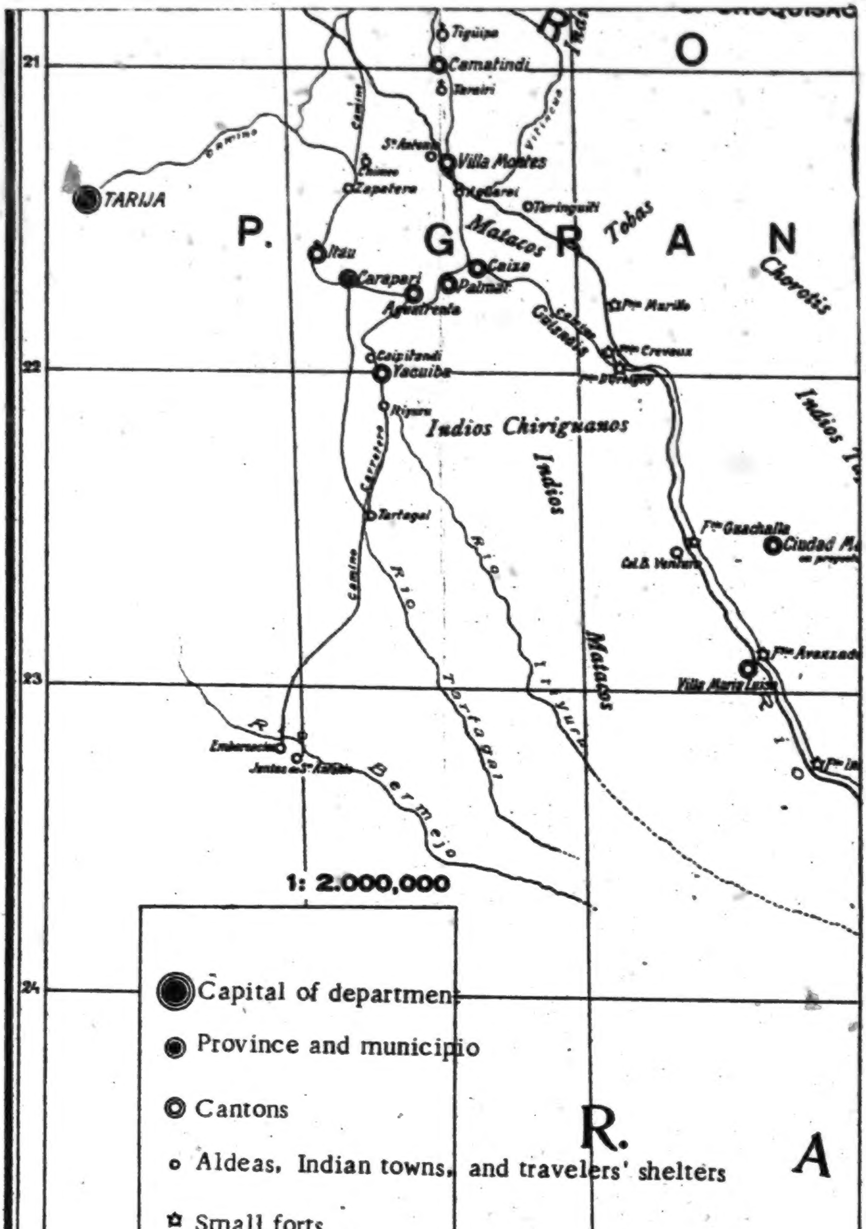
102
101
103
131
133
361
797


62
61
60
Mejía
Indios Sirionós
Río S. Miguel
Sª Ceferino
Sª María
Taquiquis
Sª Miguel
Sajuanama
Sª Juan B.
Santiago
Sª Franc
Tres Cruces
Pozo del Tigre
El Cerro
Zapallucu
Sª José de Chiquitos
Sª Juan
Sª Lorenzo
Río Parapití
Los Porongos
Moracacito
Santiag
Indios Sirionós
SANTA CRUZ
Suminanquis
CORDILLERA
Indios Salvajes
Monte mediano
Miguelito
Cañada del Río Parapití
Salinas de Sª José
Sª Ramón
Salinas de Santiago
Cº Verano
Cº Colorado
Cº Sª Miguel
Cº Moreno
Indios Siracuas
Ñanaiguas
Límite entre Santa Cruz y Chuquisaca
Irenfagüe
Camino
En exploracion
Picuigua
Cayuguari
Cumbarurenta
QUISACA
Indios Cayuguari
Límite entre los departamentos de Chuquisaca y Tarija

102
101
103
131
133
361
797

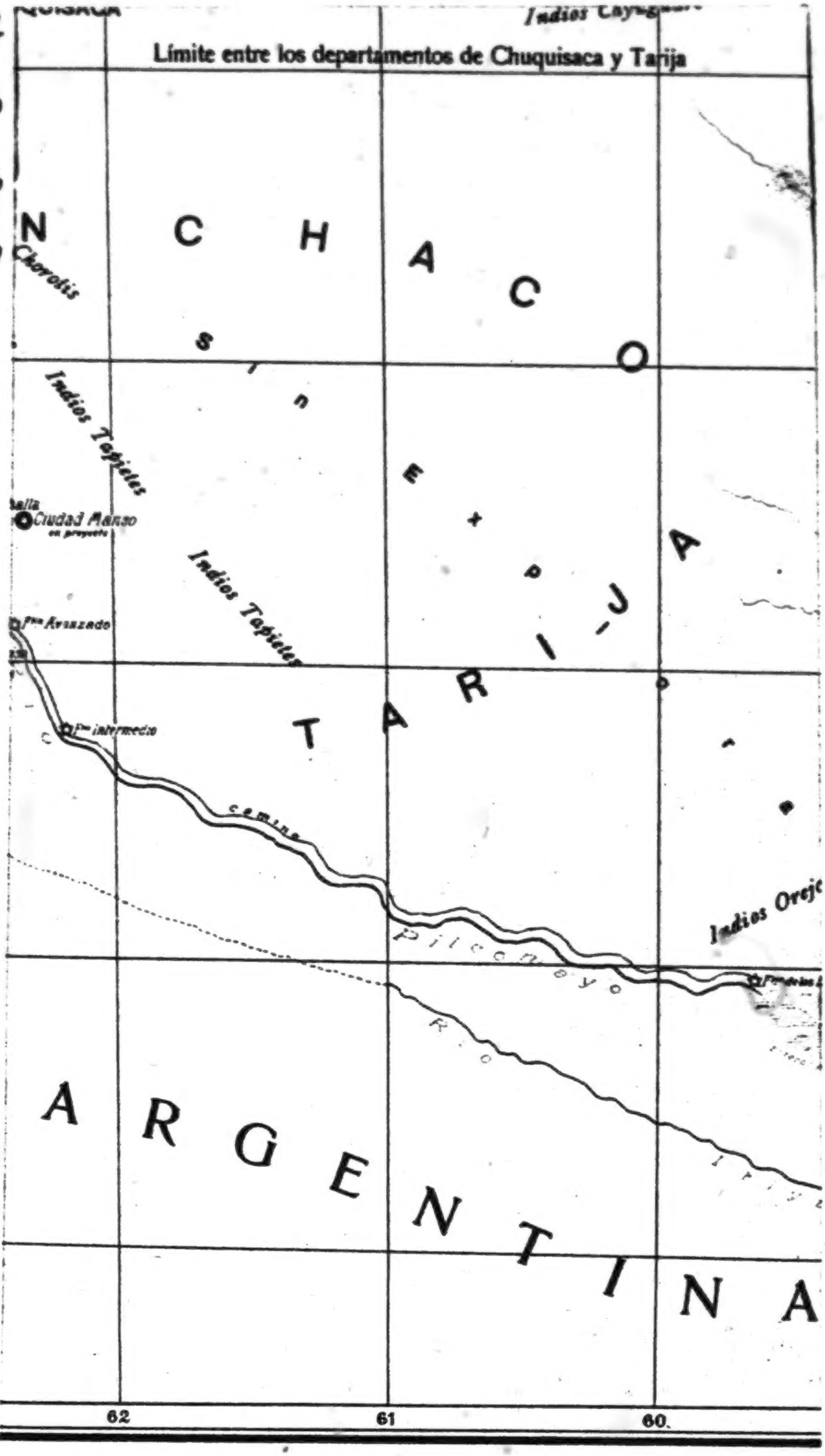

59
58
17
18
19
20
21
Indios Gualos
Caja del Agua
Sⁿ Francisco
Rio Pozones
R. Sⁿ Corazon
Sⁿ Fernando
S. Tomas
Indios Gualos
Sⁿ Corazón
Tucavaca
Mercedes
Santiago
Indios Potoreras
Escobido
Tucavaca
Rafael
Sⁿ Ana
El Carmen
Rio Otuquis
Yacu
Tacuaral
Ptº Suarez
Corumba
Indios Lhipis
Indios Otuquis
Indios Chamacocos
Ptº Pacheco
Sⁿ Ignacio de Zamucos
Puerto Olimpo
Indios Samucus
BRASIL
y
u
g

102
101
103
131
133
361
797

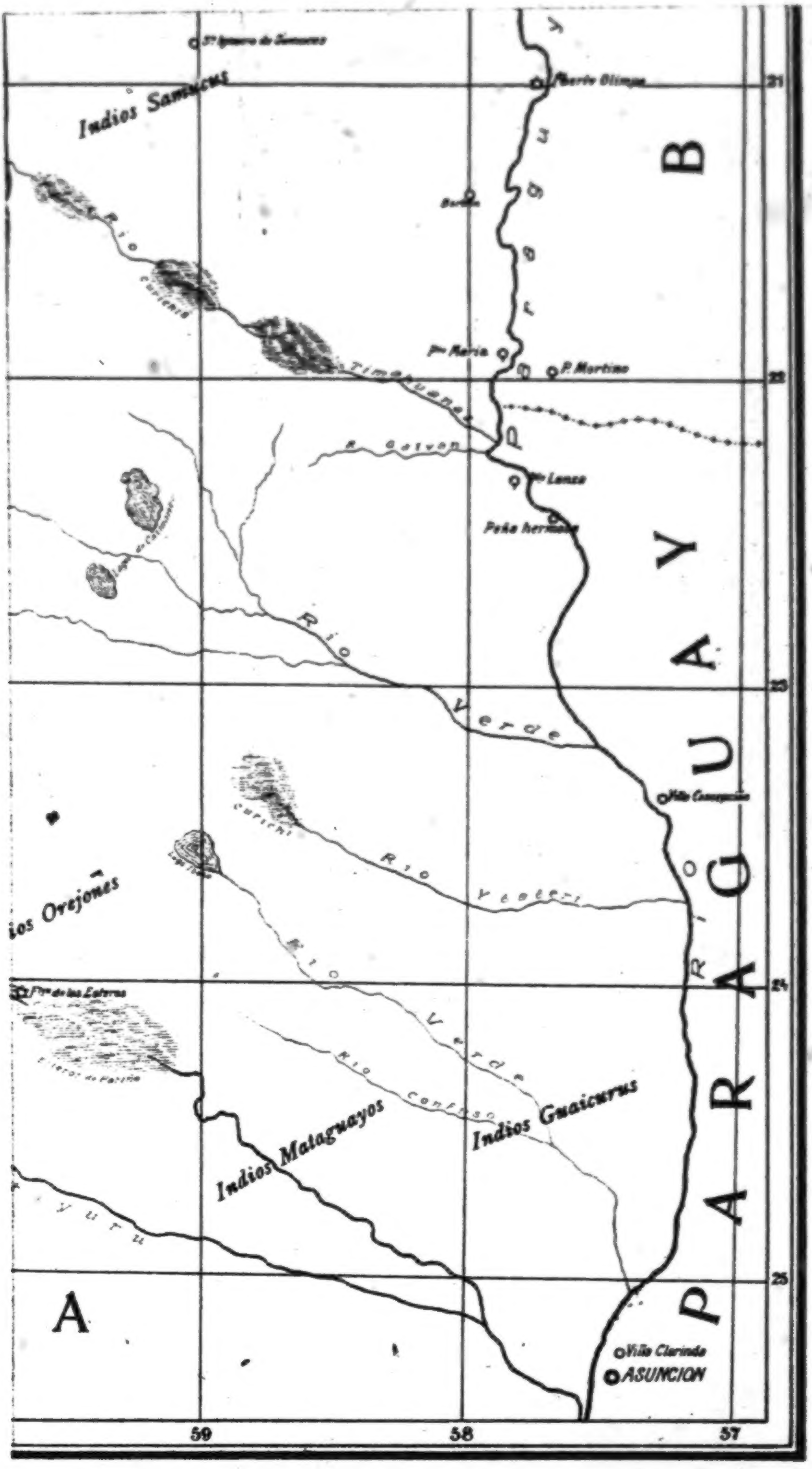

CHUQUISAC
O
R
Tiguipa
Camatindi
Tarairi
Camino
Camino
S.t Antonio
Villa Montes
Chimeo
Zapatero
Itaguarei
Taringuiti
TARIJA
P.
G
R
A
N
Matacos
Tobas
Chorotis
Itau
Caraparí
Aguairenda
Palmar
Caiza
Caizas
Guisandis
F.te Murillo
Cte Crevaux
F.te Bolivar
Caipipendi
Yacuiba
Itiyuro
Indios Chiriguanos
Indios
Indios To
Carretera
Tartagal
F.te Guachalla
Col. B. Ventura
Ciudad M
en proyecto
Camino
Rio
Rio
F.te Avanzada
Villa Maria Luisa
Matacos
Itiyuro
Tartagal
R
io
F.te In
R
Embarcación
Juntas de S.n Antonio
Bermejo
1: 2.000,000
Capital of department
Province and municipio
Cantons
Aldeas, Indian towns, and travelers' shelters
Small forts
Missions
Ports
R.
A
21
22
23
24
25
65
64
63

Note: Ibo and Puerto Pacheco belong by law to Chuquisaca.

102
101
103
131
133
361
797


Indios Chyugua
Límite entre los departamentos de Chuquisaca y Tarija
N
CHACO
Chorotis
Sin Explorar
Indios Tapietes
Ciudad Manso
en proyecto
Indios Tapietes
F^te Avazado
TARIJA
F^te intermedio
camino
Pilcomayo
Indios Oreje
Rio
ARGENTINA
62
61
60.

102
101
103
131
133
361
797


Sn Ignacio de Samucos
Puerto Olimpo
Indios Samucus
Rio Curiche
Timaguanes
Pto Maria
P. Martino
R. Galvan
Lanza
Peña hermosa
Rio Verde
Curichi
Rio Ypaneri
Villa Concepcion
Indios Orejones
Rio Verde
Rio Confuso
Esteros de Patiño
Fta de los Esteros
Indios Mataguayos
Indios Guaicurus
yuru
Villa Clarinda
ASUNCION
Rio Paraguay
B
P A R A G U A Y
A
21
22
23
24
25
59
58
57